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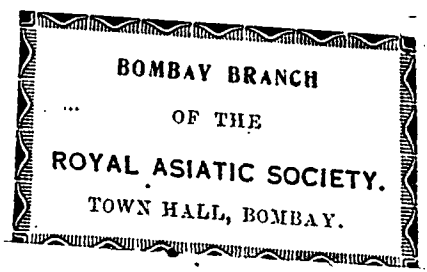

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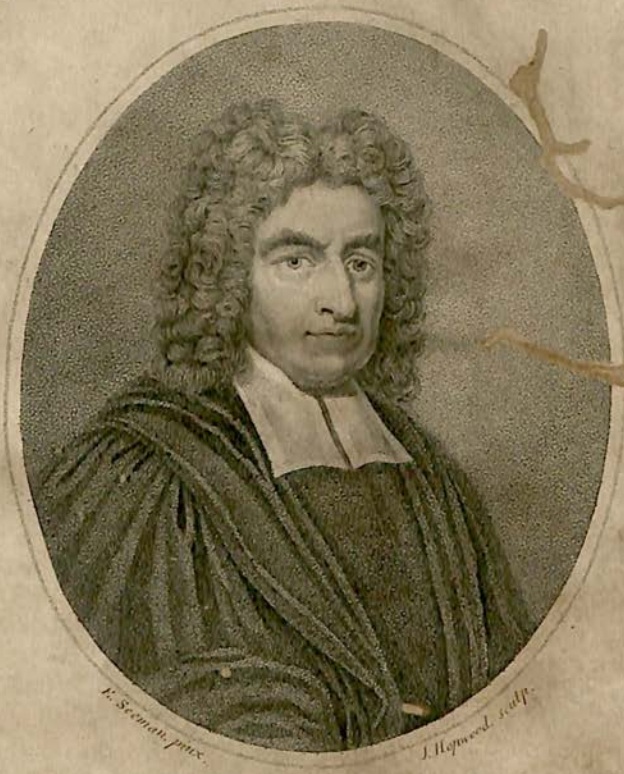

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D. D.

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TO

THE TIME OF CHRIST.

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DEAN OF NORWICH.

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VOL. I.

LONDON:
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To the Right Honourable

DANIEL,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

PRESIDENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IT being by your recommendation to your noble father, that I was by him made prebendary of the cathedral church of Norwich, while he was Lord Chancellor of England, and it being also by your Lordship's like favourable recommendation of me to her late Majesty Queen Anne, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same church, I humbly offer unto your Lordship this product of my studies, in a grateful acknowledgment of the favours I have received from you. And, if the Public receive any benefit from it, (as I hope some may,) nothing is more just and reasonable, than that they should receive it through your Lordship's hands, who, in having been

so much a patron to the Author, have a
thereby the best title to all the fruits
labours. What I now offer unto your
ship is only the first part of what is in
If God gives life, the second shall foll
beg its passage into the world under th
patronage. The only additional favour I
now capable of receiving, is your Lordshi
kind acceptance of this expression of my gr
titude; which I humbly pray from your ha
and I am,

MY LORD,

Your most obedient, and

Most obliged humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

AUTHOR'S LIFE.

DR. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX was born at Padstow, in the county of Cornwall, on the 3d of May, Anno Domini, 1648, being the third son of Edmund Prideaux, Esq. by Bridgett his wife, who was the daughter of John Moyle of Bake, Esq. in the same county. He was by both his parents descended from ancient and honourable families, well known in that county. The Doctor being a younger brother, and designed by his parents for the church, as soon as he was of fit age he was sent abroad to school, first to Liskard, in Cornwall, then to Bodmin, in the same county, and from thence removed to Westminster, under the famous Dr. Busby, where he was soon chosen king's scholar; and after having been in that college three years, was from thence elected to Christ-Church, Oxford, and admitted into a student's place in the year 1668. by Dr. John Fell, Dean of that college; and in Trinity Term, Anno Domini, 1672, he commenced Bachelor of Arts.

As soon as he had taken that degree, he was employed by Dr. Fell, who had at this time the management of the public printing-press in that university, in an edition of *Lucius Florus*, and directed to add Notes thereto, which he did accordingly. These notes contain only references to other authors, shewing where other ancient historians have treated more at large of matters, which Florus has only related in epitome.

AFTER this, there was put into his hands, out of the Bodleian Library, a manuscript copy of Johannes Antiochenus Malela, a Greek historian, in order to have it fitted for the press by his care: but he, on perusing it, thought it a very fabulous and trifling book, not worth the printing; and upon his giving this judgment of it, the design was quite laid aside. This book, however, has been since published, by the learned Dr. Hody, Professor of Greek, in the same university.

About this time, the Doctor had the misfortune to lose his brother Nicholas, for whom he had conceived a particular affection, on account of his promising parts, and the great progress he had made in literature. He died of the small-pox, in the eighteenth year of his age, at *Corpus Christi* College, *Oxon*, where he had been a scholar three years; and lies buried in the cloyster near the chapel, with a mural monument erected to his memory, which is still to be seen there.

It was about this time that the Lord Henry Howard, then Earl of Norwich, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, made a present to the University of Oxford, of those marbles, which are called the Arundell Marbles, being the collection of his grandfather Thomas Earl of Arundell: and these being set up in the court before the theatre, as there were several very curious and valuable inscriptions upon them, it was thought proper that they should be published with a comment to explain them: and Mr. Humphrey Prideaux, at that time only Bachelor of Arts, was appointed to this work. Accordingly he undertook it, and two years afterwards, in May, 1676, published his book, intitled *Marmora Oxoniensia*, in one volume in folio, printed at the university press, and dedicated to the said Earl of Norwich. In this work he has given us all the aforesaid inscriptions at large, with a comment after each, tending to illustrate and explain them, and has added by way of appendix, an account of some marbles collected by Mr. Selden and Sertorious Ursatus' *Commentarius de notis Romanorum*. This book being published when he was but twenty-six years of age, a year after he had taken his Master of Arts degree, gained him great reputation in the university, and was well received in the world, especially among foreigners in Germany, France, and Italy; and the demand for it amongst the learned was such, that it grew very scarce within a few years after it had been printed, and was not to be had, but at an advanced price. The learned Huetius in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 4. cap. 2. § 14, says of it, "Plurima hujusmodi suppeditat Liber Inscrip-
" tionum Gruteri: at nihil in hoc genere marmora Oxoniensia
" æquiparate queat, quibus Insigniores Priscurum Græcorum
" Epochæ, Fœdus Smyrnæorum et Magnentium, aliaque
" egregia vetustatis Monumenta inscripta sunt." This book has suffered much in passing through the press, and is full of

typographical errors; which was owing to the negligence of the public corrector of the university press, who took no sort of care in correcting it, but suffered it to come out with all the faults, as it came from thence. The author for these and other reasons (particularly as he was called upon for a sheet every week, whether he was ready or no) never had any opinion or esteem for this work, and speaks of it himself in his preface in the following manner: "Ac sic tandem post exac-"tum Anni spatium iisdem semper gradibus, quibus typo-"graphus progressus faciens, operi meo citius timeo quam "felicius finem imposui, illudque jam trado, candide Lector, "in manus tuas: si in eo invenias me aliquid rectius dicere, "utere in commodum tuum; si in nonnullis errasse, ne in-"cuses; spectes ætatem meam; spectes difficillimas scribendi "conditiones: reputa quam pauci sunt qui, in his circumstan-"tiis positi possunt melius: iis igitur condona quicquid in "hoc opere culpandum est: a maturioribus studiis si Deus "vitam dederit et valetudinem ferendis Laboribus idoneam, "spera meliora."

Mr. Prideaux having been ordered at the first publication of this book to present one to the Lord Chancellor Finch, this introduced him into his Lordship's patronage, who soon after sent to him, at Christ-Church, Mr. Charles Finch, one of his Lordship's sons to be his pupil. He was afterwards elected Fellow of All Souls College, and there commenced Doctor of Laws; but died soon after, before he could make any appearance in the world.

In the beginning of the year 1679, the rectory of St. Clements in Oxford, which is in the gift of the great seal, falling void, Mr. Prideaux was by the Lord Chancellor Finch presented to it, and instituted and inducted accordingly. This living he served constantly for several years.

The same year Mr. Prideaux published two tracts out of *Maimonides* in Hebrew, to which he added a Latin translation and annotations. The book bears the title of *De jure Pauperis et Peregrini apud Judæos*. This he did in consequence of his having been appointed Dr. Busby's Hebrew lecturer in the college of Christ-Church; and his principal view in printing this book was to introduce young students in the Hebrew language into the knowledge of the Rabinical dialect, and to teach them to read it without points.

In the latter end of the year 1680, the Parliament meeting at Oxford, he attended on the Lord Chancellor Finch there as his chaplain; but this was of short continuance; for the Parliament was dissolved within ten days after its first meeting. The 12th of May following his patron the Lord Finch was created Earl of Nottingham on the decease of Charles Howard, the last Earl of Nottingham of that family, by whose death the title was now become extinct.

About Midsummer following, Anno Domini 1681, Dr. Herbert Astley, Dean of Norwich, dying, Dr. John Sharp, formerly chaplain to the said Lord Chancellor, Prebendary of Norwich, and Rector of St. Giles in the Fields, was promoted to that Deanry; upon which his prebend in that church, which was in the gift of the great seal, falling void, the Lord Chancellor wrote a very kind letter to Mr. Prideaux at Oxford, to let him know, that he gave it him; and accordingly on the 15th of August after he was installed into it, and kept his first residence at that church, in the months of December and January following. The other prebendaries of the same church, at Mr. Prideaux's first admission into it were, Mr. Joseph Loveland, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, Dr. William Hawkins, Dr. William Smyth, and Mr. Nathaniel Hodges: but Dr. Burton dying soon after, Mr. Richard Kidder, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, and Bishop of Bath and Wells succeeded him. With him Mr. Prideaux contracted a very particular friendship, which continued to the time of Dr. Kidder's death, who was unfortunately killed by the fall of the roof of his bed-chamber, in the great storm, Anno Domini, 1703.

On the 15th of November 1682, Mr. Prideaux was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and soon after had the misfortune to lose his patron, the Lord Chancellor Nottingham, who died on the 18th of November following, and was succeeded by Sir Francis North, Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas.

On the 17th of February, Anno Domini, 1682–3, he was instituted to the rectory of *Bladen cum Capella de Woodstock*, in the county of Oxford. Dr. Thomas Marshall, then Dean of Gloucestor, and Rector of Lincoln college, was his predecessor in this living, who having resigned it, Mr. Prideaux was presented thereto, by the Lord Keeper North, it being in the gift of the great seal, held it with his student's place, at Christ-Church, by virtue of his being library keeper of that college;

for as there is no salary belonging to that office, except forty shillings per annum paid to a deputy, the student, who has it, has the privilege of holding one living, without vacating his student's place by his institution thereto.

On the 15th of October Anno Domini, 1683, Mr. Prideaux lost his father, who died in the 78th year of his age. He was descended of a family, that had flourished in many places both in Cornwall and Devonshire, at Prideaux, Orcharton, Addeston, Thuborough, Soldon, Netherton, Ford Abbey, and Padstow; as appears from the herald's books, *Cambden*, *Leland's Itinerary*, *Fuller's Worthies*, *Risdon's Survey of Devon*, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, and *Prince's Worthies of Devon*; who all make honourable mention of this family. He was a gentleman of great worth, sobriety and discretion, and well learned in most parts of literature, that became a gentleman to know. He studied first at Sidney college in Cambridge, where he was under the care of Dr. Paul Michelthwayt, afterwards master of the temple: From thence removed to Exeter college in Oxford at the invitation of Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of that college; and from thence he went to the Inns of Court, in order to make himself acquainted with the laws of the realm; and after this travelled abroad, and spent some time in foreign countries. By these means he improved his natural understanding, and acquired those accomplishments, which made him honoured and respected beyond most of his time in the county where he lived; to which he was very useful in the Commission of the Peace and Lieutenancy. From the Restoration to the time of his death, he had the chief management of affairs in the county of Cornwall, which, on account of his known wisdom and integrity, were mostly referred to him.

Mr. Prideaux now wholly gave himself up to his studies and attending the duties of his function, going constantly to Bladen and Woodstock every Sunday from Christ-Church. And that there might be no deficiency in the ministerial duties at any time, he kept a curate resident at Woodstock, to attend them; so that both churches were constantly served morning and afternoon every Sunday.

And that they might always continue to be so served, Dr. Fell, who was then Bishop of Oxford, as well as Dean of Christ-Church, projected the building an house for the minister at Woodstock; and having accordingly purchased a piece

of ground on the left hand of the gate, going into the park from the town of Woodstock, and formed the model for the house; committed the care of building it to Mr. Prideaux, under whose direction it was finished in the year 1685, and afterwards settled for the use of the minister for ever, in case he shall reside thereon; otherwise for the use of the poor of the town of Woodstock. It is built in the form of a cross, upon the park wall over against Chaucer's house. The purchase of the ground, and the building of the new house thereon, was wholly at the expence of the learned and pious Bishop Fell, which cost him above 600*l.* but the converting the old house, which stood there before, into out-houses and offices, and fitting up the same, was wholly at the charge of Mr. Prideaux.

From the time that he was Master of Arts, and a tutor in the college, he was always very zealous and diligent in reforming such disorders and corruptions, as had from time to time crept into it; and made use of all opportunities in his power for suppressing them. This of course drew on him the ill-will of many of his fellow collegians, as must always happen to those, who endeavour at the reformation of discipline. But at the same time he had the friendship and esteem of the best men, and such whose reputation was highest in the university; particularly of Bishop Fell, Dr. Pocock, the learned Hebrew and Arabic Professor, Dr. Marshall, Dean of Gloucester, and Rector of Lincoln college, Dr. Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Dr. Mills, the editor of the Greek Testament, Dr. Henry Godolphin, late Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. Guise of All Souls College, and many other learned and valuable men.

On the 6th of February, Anno Domini, 1684–5, died king Charles the IId, and his brother James the IId was proclaimed king the same day. The summer following happened the invasions of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth in England, which having both miscarried, and both the conductors of them being cut off, King James now looked upon himself as thoroughly settled on the throne; and began to take open measures for subjecting these realms to popish superstition. At the same time, Bishop Fell declining very fast in his health, Mr. Prideaux foresaw the confusion, which afterwards followed in the college upon his decease, when the king imposed a popish Dean to succeed him; and therefore determined to retire from it, and settle on his cure,

and on the 16th of February, Anno Domini, 1685–6, he married Mrs. Bridgett Bokenham, only daughter of Anthony Bokenham of Helmingham in the county of Suffolk, Esq. who was the son of a younger brother of Sir Henry Bokenham of Thornham, in the county of Suffolk; and her mother was the daughter of Thomas Townsend of Horstead, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

In the year 1686, at the Public Act, Mr. Prideaux proceeded Doctor of Divinity; and having exchanged his living *of Bladen cum woodstock*, for the rectory of Saham in Norfolk, as soon as that Act was over, left Oxford, and settled upon his prebend at Norwich.

The last thing he did at Oxford, was to attend the funeral of his friend Bishop Fell, who died on the Saturday of that Act; and was buried on the Tuesday following, in the Cathedral church of Christ-Church, under the Dean's stall in the Latin chapel. As soon as Dr. Prideaux had seen him put into the ground, he immediately left Oxford, and never afterwards returned thither. This good Bishop was, for his piety, learning, and wisdom, esteemed one of the most eminent Prelates of his time; and the college, which long enjoyed the benefit of his wise and useful government, is so much indebted to him on that account, as well as for his buildings and other benefactions, that he may deservedly be esteemed the second founder.

Dr. Prideaux always looked on him as the Author of the Book called, *The Reasons of the Decay of Christian Piety*, which came out in the name of the Author of *The Whole Duty of Man*; and his reasons for it were, that in the summer 1676, he made a visit to Sir William Morice at Werrington, in the county of Devon (who was his uncle, having married a sister of his father's) when amongst other discourse that passed between them, Sir William told him, he thought Bishop Fell was the author of that book; for that whilst he attended at Court, as Secretary of State, a little after the Restoration, he heard the Bishop preach a sermon in the king's chapel, with which he was so much pleased, that he desired to have a copy of it, which was accordingly presented to him; and that some years after, on the publication of the book called *The Decay of Christian Piety*, he found the sermon in the very same words in that book; and thence concluded, that the

person who preached the one, was the author of the other. Dr. Prideaux was afterwards farther confirmed in this opinion; for as he attended the press in the theatre at Oxford, whilst another of the books ascribed to the same author was printing there, he often found whole lines, and sometime two or three together, blotted out, and interlineations in their stead, which he knew to be of Bishop Fell's hand-writing; and this was a liberty; which it was unlikely any but the author should have taken. So that his opinion upon the whole was that the book, called *The Whole duty of Man*, was written by an author still unknown; but that all the other books assigned to the same author were written by Bishop Fell and Dr. Allestry. And that whereas the first of them, that was printed, either by design or mistake of the bookseller, came forth under the name of the author of the Whole Duty of Man, they suffered all the others to come out under the same disguise, the better to conceal what they intended should be a secret. And as to what Bishop Fell says in a preface to a folio edition printed at Oxford, in which all these books are comprised together, where he mentions the author as lately dead, it was generally understood to be meant of Dr. Allestry, who was then lately deceased.

On Dr. Prideaux's settling at Norwich, the whole management of the affairs of the Cathedral fell into his hands; and this burden remained upon him ever after whilst he lived. On his first undertaking them, he found all matters there in the utmost disorder and confusion; for they had no rentals, whereby to receive their rents, nor any treasurer's book whereby to pay the salaries of the officers and other outgoings; but the audit book of the former year was the only guide, which either the receiver or treasurer had for what was to be done in the following year; and that was very confused and defective. By these means the affairs of the church being kept in an intricate and dark state, the seniors often imposed on the juniors. In order to remedy these inconveniencies, the Doctor was at the pains to examine all the ledger books, and out of them he made an exact rental in the order of the alphabet, which being every year writ over in a book, the receivers have ever since continued to receive the rents thereby. At the same time he made a book for the treasurer in a due and orderly method, according to which the salaries and all other payments and expences of the church have ever since been made; and by the help of these two books, he reformed the audit book,

supplying what was defective therein, and putting the whole in a proper method; and these his regulations have ever since been followed in all their books of accompts; by which means every thing is made plain and easy. He examined also and sorted all their charters and evidences, and disposed them in drawers according to their proper order, by which means they may easily be referred to; whereas before this, they lay in a very confused and disorderly manner, on the floor of a room, which was unpaved and covered with dirt, and the windows broken; all which he repaired. The register books likewise and other books, that lay neglected and dispersed up and down, he had bound up in order, to the number of thirty volumes; so that all the evidences and muniments of the church were settled and disposed of in perfect order and method.

THE tomb of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich and founder of the church, having been demolished in the civil wars, the Doctor caused it to be repaired, and put a new inscription on it of his own composing; giving some account of the founder, and of this and his other foundations. It is placed before the high altar, with the arms of the Bishop at the upper end, the Dean's on the lower, and the six prebendaries on the sides. This was done in the year 1682.

The first audit the Doctor was at he found, that the Chapter were always at a loss on the renewal of their leases both as to the value of their estates, the fine last set, and other circumstances; and that they were obliged to refer themselves to the memory of the seniors for information, which was very imperfect and uncertain. To remedy this inconvenience therefore, he contrived a book called *The Private Register*, in which are entered the time of every renewal, the name of the tenant, the term demised, the old rent, the provision-rent, with the times of payment, the reservations, covenants and conditions of the lease, the date of the former lease, the real value of the estate, what was taken for the fine, and on what consideration it was either raised or abated, with all those other circumstances and particulars relating to it, which might be of use to be known at future renewals. This book begins from the time of the Restoration, though it was twenty years after, that he set about composing it. As to the preceding time the Doctor gathered up his information as well as he could from the ledger and audit books of the church, and from the me-

mories of the senior members of the Chapter; but the rest he formed from his own knowledge. This book he kept continually making the entries with his own hand, till about two years before his death; when he directed it to be done by another.

About this time the Doctor was engaged in a controversy with the papists: for King James, upon his coming to the crown, having made open profession of their religion, they imagined, that supported by his authority, they should carry all before them, and bring the whole nation over to their persuasion; and to this end, sent out emissaries into all parts of the kingdom. Now those who were sent into the country, they would not trust with the whole controversy, for fear of overburthening their abilities, but assigned a particular point to each, which he was to insist upon, and beyond which he was not to meddle. And the point assigned to those, who came to make conversions in Norfolk and Norwich, was, 'The Invalidity of the Orders of the church of England,' which they were directed to make out by such arguments, as their superiors had furnished them with; and from hence they were to infer, that having no priesthood, we could have no sacraments; and consequently could be no Church, nor any salvation be had amongst us. The first who appeared there with this argument, was one Webster, who had formerly been curate of St. Margaret's in King's Lynn, for the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, who have the appropriation of that church, and being turned out from thence for his notorious misdemeanors, went to London, and there kept a private school. But on King James' coming to the crown, seeing the great encouragement that popery met with, and imagining it would turn to his advantage, he early embraced that interest, hoping to rise by it, and for a greater shew of zeal came into Norfolk, as a missionary for popery, with the argument abovementioned, and had the confidence to send a challenge to the Bishop of Norwich, appointing a time when he would come to him at his palace, and dispute that point with him. On this the Bishop desired Dr. Sharp and Dr. Prideaux to be present at the time appointed, when Webster came, bringing with him one Mr. Acton, a priest of the order of the Jesuits, and who resided at Norwich, for the service of those of the Roman communion in that city. When all were seated, Webster began to read a paper, which he called a preface to the disputation;

whereupon the Bishop interrupting him, called him to an account for his apostacy, and reproved him for that, as well as for the present insult, in the manner he deserved; upon this Webster being much offended, rose up in great anger, and departing abruptly, broke off the conference. Both Dr. Sharp and Dr. Prideaux offered to answer his arguments, if he would have proposed them; but he let them know, that he disdained to dispute with any but the Bishop himself; and so the conference ended. Not long after, Mr. Acton having perverted a brewer in Norwich, this produced a dispute on the same point, between Mr. Acton, on the one part; and Mr. Earbury and Mr. Kipping, two Protestant divines, on the other; upon which, a gentleman of Norwich, who was present at the conference, pretending not to have received satisfaction from what was said for the validity of our orders, addressed himself in a letter to Dr. Prideaux about it; to which he returned an answer the day after, November 11, 1687. Hence followed several letters on both sides upon the same subject; and the last the Doctor wrote on this occasion was a very long one, containing the whole state of the controversy. But by the time he had finished it, understanding that the gentleman, to whom it was intended to have been sent, was gone over to the popish communion, and irrecoverably determined in it, the Doctor did not think it worth his while to get a copy of it wrote out for him, or concern himself any farther about him, and therefore threw aside his papers in his study, as no farther useful to the end they were originally intended. In the beginning of April following, this gentleman died, owning himself a member of that communion, upon which the papists were resolved to bury him in the Cathedral church, and bring him thither in a solemn procession, by way of triumph: but the Doctor being then in his residence at the church, was as fully determined to obstruct this design, and gave orders, that no grave there should be made for him. This being matter of great disappointment to them, they held a meeting at the Goat tavern in Norwich to consult about it, and from thence sent a message to the Doctor to expostulate with him, and demand his reason for such his proceeding. In answer to this, he wrote them a letter to the following purpose, that Mr. N——, not dying within the precincts of the Cathedral church, they were under no obligation to bury him in it; but he recommended it to his relations to bury him as the law directed, in the church or church-yard of

the parish in which he died, against which there could be no exception: And this his answer the Doctor chose to send in writing with his name subscribed to it, that it might not be in the power of the messenger, by any addition or alteration of his own, to represent it otherwise than he intended it. On the delivery of this note, a certain knight, who lived near Norwich, and had several times turned papist and protestant, forwards and backwards, as either religion was most likely to be uppermost, sitting as chairman of the consultation declared, that there was nothing written in it, for which they could make the doctor suffer, and therefore advised them to send to him again in order to provoke him to give another answer; and accordingly the brother of the deceased, who had also gone over to popery, was sent on his errand, who coming to the Doctor's house demanded of him in an imperious manner, why he would not let his brother be buried in the Cathedral? to which the Doctor answered, that he had sent his reasons in writing, which he supposed the other had seen. His reply to this was, that he had seen the writing, but that the reason there given was not sufficient, and he would have another. To this the Doctor said, he had no other for him; and so leaving him retired to his study; on which the other went off in great wrath; and the consult not being able to gain any advantage against the Doctor, followed his advice, and buried the deceased in the church of the parish where he died.

At the same time there was another affair, which further exasperated these men against him; for the Doctor observing, that the clergy of Norwich were much intimidated, by the severe measures the king took for the propagating of his religion, especially after what had happened to the Bishop of London, and Dr. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, and that they wholly abstained from meddling with this controversy, at a time when there was most need to exert themselves, resolved by his example to encourage them no longer to be silent on so important an occasion, but speak out in defence of the holy religion they professed. Having therefore two turns for preaching in the Cathedral, the first on Good-Friday, and the other the Sunday seven-night following, he took for his text, the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th verses of the ixth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews: the words are as follow: "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.

" Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high-priest entereth into the holy place, every year with the blood of others:

" For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now once, in the end of the world, hath he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

" And as it is appointed for all men once to die, but after this the judgment;

" So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them, that look for him, shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation."

And from this text he formed both his sermons against the Mass-sacrifice of the church of Rome, endeavouring to prove, what the 31st article of our Church says of them *(viz.)* " that the sacrifices of Masses, in which it is commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." In the last of these two sermons he had these words: " And now I doubt not but that there are some, who will not be a little offended with me, for what I have said both in this, and my former discourse on this text; but unto such I have these two things to say:—

" First, that we being ministers of Jesus Christ, think ourselves indispensibly obliged by the law of our mission, and the vow we have entered into on our taking this holy office upon us, to declare God's truths to all those, to whom we are sent, and to warn them of those errors, which if they fall into, will endanger their everlasting salvation. And when any party of men are so unreasonable, as to take it ill at our hands for discharging our duty and our consciences herein, we shall say unto them the same, which the apostle did unto the Jews in the like case, whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken to you, more than unto God, judge ye.

" But secondly, as God and our consciences oblige us to the discharge of this duty, so do we take it, that we have full license from the king's most excellent majesty to authorise us so to do; and that not only by his laws, which are the most authentic expressions of his will, but also by his late declaration, wherein, out of his abundant clemency he hath given full liberty to all men in this realm to own and profess each their own religion, according as their consciences shall direct.—And

seeing by virtue of this liberty so many now a days do take it upon them to oppose the doctrines of our Church, and set up their own errors against them; who can with any reason deny us the benefit of this same liberty to defend ourselves; for since so many make use of the privilege of this liberty now granted to them, not only to preach up their erroneous doctrines against us, but also to hunt after the souls of men from house to house, seeking whom they can devour; without permitting those, whom they think they can have any advantage over, either to live in quiet or die in quiet, in our communion; if we only, amidst this liberty, were to sit still with our hands upon our mouths, and silently behold those to be daily torn from us, for whose souls we are to answer, if they perish through our neglect, our case would of all men be the hardest. It can never enter into my thoughts that so just a prince as our present majesty is owned to be, ever designed to put any such thing upon us. This declaration is general to all his people, which is demonstration to me, that he intended the benefit of it for all, that is, as well to those who had the laws on their side, as to those, who have not. And therefore by virtue of that declaration, as well as the impulse of my own conscience, I have thus taken it upon me to discharge my duty in this particular, and think nothing can be more unreasonable, than that those, who have no right at all but by this declaration, should take any exceptions at it. But be that as it will, since God hath called me to this ministry, I am not ashamed of, neither will I be afraid, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

THESE two sermons having angered the papists, Mr. Acton, the Jesuit, who was chief mass priest of a popish conventicle, then set up in Norwich, at a place formerly made use of as a granary sent two of his perverted disciples to the Doctor, to demand an account of the said sermons; to which he answered, that he knew no obligations he had to be accountable to the men of the granary for what he had preached in the Cathedral: if they had a mind to know what he delivered there, they might come and hear him, and that was all the answer he would give them. This expression, the men of the granary gave great offence, and produced a very angry letter from Mr. Acton, in which amongst other expressions of his resentment, he told the Doctor, "that it was expected the king, ere long, would be at Norwich, when he hoped to see him upon his knees in their oratory: and must he be then called one of the men of the granary too?" This was such foolish stuff, that the Doctor thought

it proper, from thence, to despise the man, and take no more notice of him.

ALL these particulars of the Doctor's behaviour having made him very obnoxious to the popish party, as they had nothing else to object to him, they challenged him for not answering a letter written by Mr. Acton, which the doctor supposed could be none but the last he received from Mr. N. for he knew, that all the controversial letters sent to him in his name, were written by Mr. Acton. Upon this, he gathered together the papers he had formerly written in that controversy; and in order to let those, who had called upon him for an answer, know that he was prepared to give it, sent them to the press, from whence they were published in the ensuing summer, under the title of, *The Validity of the Orders of the Church of England, made out against the Objections of the Papists, in several letters to a gentleman of Norwich, that desired satisfaction therein.*

AFTER Dr. Prideaux had preached in the cathedral the two sermons above-mentioned, most of the other Ministers in Norwich taking courage from his example, preached in their respective churches against the errors and impiety of popery. This was an opposition, those of that sect could not bear with any patience, in a cause, which now they reckoned as their own; and looking upon all as excited by the Doctor's example, resolved to be revenged on him, for this and the other matters, in which he had offended them: and to this end, applied to a popish gentleman of considerable figure in Norfolk, and who had an interest in King James' court, to go thither, and complain of him to the king. But this had no effect; for as they had a design there, to strike at the whole body of the Protestant clergy, it was no longer worth their while, to concern themselves with a particular person apart.

AND this design was laid in the following manner: The king had about a year before published in his declaration of indulgence and general toleration to all the different sects of Christians in his dominions, that all might worship God in their own way, and thereby had let the papists into the public exercise of their superstition in all parts of the kingdom. Now that he might farther and more effectually advance their interest, he took a resolution, and accordingly by his own authority, ordered, that this declaration should be read by the ministers in all the churches in this realm, during the time

of the celebration of Divine service, with an intention of ejecting all such, as should refuse to comply with him herein, from their respective churches, and supplying the vacancies with priests of the church of Rome. This order bore date the 4th of May, 1688, and enjoined the said declaration to be read at the usual time of Divine service, on the 20th and 27th of the same month, in all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles round about, and upon the 3d and 10th of June following, in all other churches and Chapels throughout the kingdom; and the bishops were thereby commanded to send and distribute the said declaration throughout their several and respective dioceses, to be read accordingly. For which purpose, bundles of the said declaration were sent from the king's printing-house to every bishop in the kingdom, according to the number of churches and chapels in their respective dioceses. What followed upon this, how the bishops petitioned the king, were imprisoned for the cause, and brought to their trials, are all particulars so well known, that they need not be here mentioned.

Two or three of the bishops, whose inclinations were in all things to comply with the king's measures, and had been promoted by him for that end, scandalously obeyed his order, and sent out this declaration to the clergy of their dioceses, to be read by them in their churches on the days appointed; but all the rest refused and thereby screened their clergy from the blow, that was aimed at them.

However, that they might not be surprised by having this declaration and order obtruded upon them from such other hands as were then busily employed in promoting the popish cause, a letter was drawn up by the Earl of Halifax, directed to all the clergy of England, persuading them not to read the declaration. And this carried with it such strength of reason, as convinced every one, who intended to adhere to the Protestant religion, rather to incur the king's displeasure, than obey his orders in this matter. This letter was privately printed and carefully dispersed in all parts of the kingdom, before any copies of it were given out in London; so that it had every where its effect, and the court was prevented from any opportunity of opposing it.

Dr. William Loyd, then Bishop of Norwich, was not wanting on this occasion to exert himself to the utmost for the

Protestant cause. Archbishop Sancroft, who had great confidence in his wisdom and integrity, sent for him, as soon as the order came out, to consult together with the other bishops then in London, what was most proper for them to do in this critical juncture; and that his letter might not be stopped at the post-office, where all suspected letters were every night opened, sent his servant on the Norwich road, with orders to give in at the first country post-office he should meet with, to be sent forward with the Norwich bag. But it happened by the neglect of the postmaster, to whom it was delivered, that it did not reach Norwich, till a post after it was intended; so that before the bishop could get to London, the petition of the seven bishops was presented, and the petitioners sent to the Tower. However they had this advantage thereby, that his Lordship being at liberty had the opportunity of serving them as their solicitor, and conveying to them those advices of the nobility, lawyers, and other friends, by which they governed their conduct through the whole course of this affair; and this his assiduity was so much taken notice of, that he was more than once threatened to be sent to keep company with those, whose cause he so diligently solicited.

THE letter of my Lord Halifax above-mentioned being just printed off on his arrival at London, he got two thousand of them for his diocese, and sent them down to Dr. Prideaux, to be dispersed amongst the clergy. And this was executed so successfully, that before the third of June, on which the declaration was to be read, every clergyman in the diocese was furnished with one of these letters against it, which had so good an effect, that out of one thousand two hundred parishes in the diocese of Norwich, there were not above four or five, in which it was read, and in those the ministers were obliged to read it out of the Gazette.

DR. Prideaux, in the distribution of these letters, undertook a dangerous task; they were conveyed down to him in the stage coach, in a box, under the care of an old gentleman in the neighbourhood, whose niece the Doctor had married; and as soon as the old gentleman was come home to his house, the Doctor immediately went thither to enquire for the box, where he found the old gentleman's servant opening the box, to give one of them to a lewd Physician of Norwich, who had gotten into his acquaintance. This coming of the Doctor's was very fortunate, and prevented the whole design from being

betrayed; for had the box been opened, and but one of the letters been delivered out, it would have made the affair too hazardous for a prudent man to have meddled any farther with it. The physician above-mentioned was a spy for the papists, and in all respects a profligate abandoned man; and the Doctor not knowing how far the secret might have been communicated to him by the old gentleman, was under some difficulty how to proceed any farther; for having already highly provoked the popish party, should he distribute these letters and they discover, that it was his doing, he might be very certain, they would do their utmost to ruin him. However his zeal for the Protestant religion soon got the better of these apprehensions: determining therefore not to decline any danger, where the interest of that cause was concerned, he undertook this affair, and had the good fortune to carry it through without being discovered. And this was chiefly owing to a contrivance, he made use of in the management of it, which was as follows: Having made up about a dozen packets with several of these letters inclosed in each of them, he superscribed them in feigned hands, to as many ministers in the city of Norwich; and sent a person whom he knew he could trust, to Yarmouth, with directions to disperse them in several wherries, which came up every night from thence to Norwich: and this being faithfully executed, the letters were delivered the next morning as directed. Now as they were sent from Yarmouth, it was generally believed, that they came from Holland; and the Doctor, by this device, escaped all suspicion of having any hand in the affair. As to the rest, he sent them by the carriers, who go from Norwich every week, into all parts of the country, so that they were dispersed over the diocese, without its being known, from whose hand they came, till all the danger was over.

At this time there was one of the prebendaries of Norwich strongly inclined to popery, and prepared to give in to all King James' measures in favour of it, especially in publishing the above-mentioned declaration in the parish church in the county, of which he was minister. But the two days, on which it was ordered to be read, being the third and tenth of June; and that month and July happening to be the two months in which the said prebendary was to keep his residence at the cathedral, he sent to Dr. Prideaux, desiring him to excuse his coming for the two first weeks in June, and that

he would reside for him those two weeks. But Dr. Prideaux being apprised of the reasons, for which he was desirous of being excused his residence those two weeks, sent him back word, that he would by no means comply with his request; that the third of June, being Whitsunday, and the tenth of the same month Trinity-Sunday, that year, the service of both those solemn days would fail, unless he came to attend it; and that the consequence of such failure would be the forfeiture of the revenue of his prebend for the whole year; and as Dr. Prideaux was treasurer of the church, he farther assured him, that he would certainly exact it and not pay him one penny. This message immediately brought the prebendary to Norwich; for the consideration of losing his money soon got the better of his zeal for popery: but afterwards he complained with a good deal of regret to those of the same persuasion, that he was not allowed the opportunity of shewing, how ready he was to comply with the King in this particular. This same man, when the new oaths came out, was as forward to swear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, as any one of his order.

After this, followed the trial of the Bishops, in which the popish party were worsted. This however did not discourage them from pursuing their designs against the parochial clergy, Therefore out came an order to all chancellors, commissaries, and archdeacons, to make return of the names of such of the parochial clergy, within their several jurisdictions, as did not read the above-mentioned declaration in their respective churches, on the day appointed. This, in the beginning of August, brought most of the chancellors, commissaries, and archdeacons in England, to London to consult together, what answer they should make to this command: but while this was debating, the news came of great preparations making in Holland, for an invasion upon England; and this put a stop to all further proceedings.

In the beginning of November following, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonshire, and soon after King James abdicated the government, and withdrew himself beyond sea; upon which the states of this kingdom having met together in Parliament, to consult for the good of the nation, after many solemn debates and mature deliberation, it was resolved, that our deliverer, the Prince of Orange, with his consort should be proclaimed King and Queen of these realms,

which was done accordingly. Thus were we happily freed from the fear of arbitrary power, and the galling chains of popish superstition; whilst he who had been the tyrant of his country, fled from his people to their enemies, amongst whom he spent the remainder of his life, the dupe of French politics, the tool of designing priests, odious to his people, and justly contemned by all mankind.

Every thing being left in great confusion on the King's flight, the mob rose in many places, and created great disorders all over the nation. At first, they began with rifling the houses of papists and such as were reckoned to be popishly affected; till at last, any body was accounted so, in whose house plunder was to be had; and these disorders raged no where more than at Norwich. The mob there, having plundered several houses in the city, at last made an appointment to do the same, by some houses, within the precinct of the cathedral, which they had marked out for that purpose. But Dr. Prideaux having timely notice of their design, ordered the gates of the close to be shut up; and the inhabitants arming themselves for their defence, repulsed the rabble, who attacked them, to the number of five hundred men, and made them desist from their enterprise: upon which somebody crying out, 'to the Bull', they all went to the Bull, which was a tavern kept by a papist in the city, and having plundered and gutted this house, finished their expedition. The next night every body following the Doctor's example, armed themselves, and stood upon their defence all over the city, and this soon put an end to these disorders.

About this time, Dr. Battely, having resigned his archdeaconry of Suffolk, on being promoted to that of Canterbury; Dr. Prideaux was on the 21st of December 1688, collated to it, by Dr. William Lloyd, then Bishop of Norwich.

On the 13th of February, 1688–9, the Prince and Princess of Orange were proclaimed King and Queen of England: upon which it was thought proper, that instead of the former oaths of allegiance and supremacy, two new oaths should be framed, which were enjoined to be taken by all persons, who were in any office or place, civil, military, or ecclesiastical in the kingdom. By the first of these, allegiance was sworn to the new king and queen; by the second the papal and all other foreign jurisdictions are renounced; and by the statute,

which enjoins the taking these oaths, it is enacted, not only that all such, as shall from that time be preferred to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, but that all others, then in actual possession of any such, should take the said oaths before the first of August following, on the penalty of suspension for six months following; and that at the end of the said six months, if they still persisted not to take the said oaths, they were *ipso facto* to be deprived. This created great trouble and disturbance to the church; for Archbishop Sancroft and six others of the Bishops, refusing to take them, as thinking them inconsistent with the oaths they had taken to King James, fell under the penalty of the law, were first suspended, and afterwards deprived; and several others of the clergy following their example, were in like manner outed of their benefices: and these being for the most part men of conscience and integrity, the church suffered a great loss, in being deprived of their service. Many of them indeed afterwards indulged themselves in such an humour of peevishness, discontent, and uncharitable aversion, to all others who were not of the same opinion with themselves, as was by no means consistent with a true christian temper: and this was the occasion of a schism, that is not yet quite ended. Dr. Prideaux, though he was of a different opinion from these men himself, and thought, that the new oaths might very safely be taken, and took them accordingly, and acted up to them faithfully, all the rest of his life; yet looking upon those, who refused them, as honest men, who sacrificed their interests to their consciences, always treated them with kindness and respect.

In the May following, Anno Domini, 1689, He made his first visitation of his archdeaconry of Suffolk; and the new oaths and the lawfulness of them being then the general subject of debate, especially among the clergy, his chief business in this visitation was, to give the best satisfaction he could to those who had any doubts about them; in which he had such success, that, though there were not above three hundred parishes in that archdeaconry, there were no more than three ministers in all that jurisdiction, who stood out, and refused to take them.

On the first of August this year, all who refused the said oaths, being suspended, and that suspension followed with deprivation of such, as persisted in their refusal, on the first of February following; the diocese of Norwich lost their wor-

thy Bishop, Dr. William Lloyd, who not being satisfied of the lawfulness of the said oaths, persisted in the refusal of them, and choosing rather to sacrifice his interest, than violate his conscience, was by virtue of the statute above-mentioned, deprived of his bishoprick.

THE winter following, Anno Domini, 1689, a convocation being called, and authorised to act by a royal commission, Dr. Prideaux attended it as Archdeacon of Suffolk. The business, which they were called to, was, "To treat, consult, and agree, of and upon, such points, matters, and things, as should be proposed to them, concerning alterations and amendments of the liturgy, and canons and ordinances, and constitutions, for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, for the removal of scandalous ministers, for the reformation of manners, either in ministers or people, and for the examination of such persons, as deserve to be admitted into holy orders; and all other points, causes, and matters, as should be thought necessary and expedient for advancing the honour and service of Almighty God, the good of the church, and the government thereof."

THUS was the intention of their meeting expressed in the commission; and in order to prepare matters, which were to be laid before them, on all these heads, another commission was granted to thirty persons, consisting of bishops, deans, and other eminent divines of the church, to meet, consult, form, and agree upon, all particulars to this purpose; who having met accordingly, agreed on such alterations and amendments in the liturgy as were thought proper. And these were what were first to have been proposed to the convocation, to be by them settled and agreed on; but the majority of the lower house having met together, with resolutions fully fixed against all alterations whatsoever, obstructed all further proceedings, and made the whole design miscarry.

THOSE who were for the alterations, designed Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of St. Paul's, for prolocutor of the lower house; and the court were desirous he should be the person, hoping, that one of his moderation and wisdom in the chair would be able to influence that house, to concur in promoting those ends, for which the convocation was called. But all this was defeated by setting up Dr. Jane, Dean of Gloucester, and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, to be his competitor,

who carried it against Dr. Tillotson by a great majority. And this man, as soon as he got into the chair, opposing every thing, that was proposed or intended by the royal commission, was the principal occasion, that nothing succeeded.

The project of placing him there was first laid, and afterwards carried on, by the intrigues of two noble lords, who, on account of their near relation to the queen, expected, when the government was, at the Revolution, settled on King William and Queen Mary, that they should have held some of the higher employments under it: but in this both being disappointed, grew discontented, and, out of resentment, endeavoured all they could, to perplex and embarrass the government, in which they could obtain no share, and amongst other schemes for that purpose, set themselves to baffle whatever was intended by this convocation. For as soon as the convocation was called, and those, who had wished well to it, had expressed their desire of having Dr. Tillotson for prolocutor of the lower house, these two noblemen determined to set up a competitor against him; and having pitched on the Dean of Gloucester, went to Oxford on purpose to work him to their designs. There they found him, as much out of humour as themselves, on account of a like disappointment, and very ready to join with them in all they proposed. The reason of his discontent was, it seems, that when the Prince of Orange was at Hungerford in his march towards London, the Doctor with three others were sent from the University of Oxford, to make him an offer of their plate, which, though the Prince handsomely refused, the Doctor thought he had merited whatever he should think proper to ask, and accordingly asked the bishoprick of Exeter, which was void by the removal of Bishop Lamplugh to the archbishoprick of York; and not succeeding according to his desire (for it had before been promised to Dr. Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol) this so far disgusted him, that he was ever after a professed enemy to King William and his Government, of which his conduct in this affair was a very strong instance.

On the opening of the convocation, which was held in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, the Earl of Nottingham having brought thither the king's commission for their acting and with it, a gracious message from his majesty concerning the same, the first thing, that came under their consideration, was to return an address of thanks to his majesty for both;

and to this purpose, a form was drawn up in the upper house, and sent down to the lower, for their approbation. This form being rejected here, a proposal was offered, that they should address separately, in a form of their own. This too upon being canvassed was laid aside, as improper and unprecedented. At last therefore the lower house set themselves to mend the form, that had been sent them; and after many debates and conferences had about this affair, which lasted for several days together, a form was agreed on by all parties; and the address presented to his majesty at Whitehall, the twelfth of December. By this time it was clearly seen, that much the greater part of the lower house was determined against making any alterations or amendments in the liturgy, which was the matter next to be proposed to them: they were therefore on the 13th adjourned to the 24th of January following; and so ended this convocation, after having sat about ten days, without advancing one step in the business, for which they were called.

THE last thing attempted in the lower house was to fix their censure on such books, as had been published at their first meeting, concerning affairs, that were to come before them in the convocation; for some of those, whose opinions were against making any alterations at all, having published in two or three pamphlets what they had to say on this subject; in answer to these came out several of the other side, one of which was written by Dr. Prideaux, and bears the title of, *A Letter to a friend relating to the present Convocation at Westminster;* which met with so great approbation, that several thousands of it were sold off, within a fortnight after its first publication. This exasperated the other party a good deal, who having discovered, that Dr. Prideaux was the author, though there was no name to it, would willingly have fallen upon him with their censures. On the other side it was objected, that they ought to begin with censuring those pamphlets which were first published; and this was so notoriously just and reasonable a proposal, that it could not be contradicted. In order to evade it, therefore, they were contented to drop the whole affair; and let their adversary, as they reckoned him, escape unpunished, rather than expose their friends to the same censure.

DR. Prideaux, who had great expectations from this convocation, hoping that many things would have been done for

the advantage of the church, especially in improving and amending the liturgy, was much grieved at their ill success. For it is the opinion of many, that there are some defects in our present liturgy, such as that there are whole offices wanting in it, as for the receiving of penitents, the preparing the condemned for their deaths, the consecration of churches, &c. And that some of those offices, which are established, do not in all particulars answer the occasions for which they were appointed, as may be instanced in the office of the visitation of the sick; in which it is objected, that there are some particulars, which cannot always with propriety be said. In the office for the burial of the dead, we express our hopes of the salvation of all that are buried, though they may be atheists and deists, and such as have declared themselves so to the last. In the litany, we pray for the strengthening of the king in the true worship of God; whereas it may happen, that the king is openly and declaredly in a false worship, as was the case of King James the Second. In the prayer for the parliament, the king, who reigneth over us, whoever he be, is stiled our most religious king; whereas it may happen that we may have a king who hath no religion at all, as, some say, was the case of King Charles the Second. And besides these, there are many other particulars in different parts of the service that are objected against, especially by those that dissent from us, which Dr. Prideaux was of opinion might be much easier corrected than defended. And were all those places in our liturgy, which are with any justice excepted against, corrected and amended, and what was wanting therein supplied, as many hoped would have been done by this convocation; it is hardly to be doubted, but that all our offices might have been rendered so complete, perfect, and unexceptionable, that not only many of the dissenters amongst us, but also foreign churches of the Protestant communion, might have been persuaded to introduce them into their public religious assemblies, and unite in the same form of worship, as well as in the same faith with us.

Dr. Prideaux, on his return from the convocation, finding the Cathedral church fully settled under the new Dean, who, as he had no other avocation, constantly resided there; and the popish controversy being brought to an end by the Revolution, he quitted Norwich, and retired to his parsonage of Saham, in the county of Norfolk, which he served constantly every Sunday, morning and afternoon, during

the four years that he lived there, excepting only while he was keeping his two months residence at Norwich, or visiting his archdeaconry of Suffolk, which he did constantly twice every year, till disabled to bear the journey by the unhappy disorder that afterwards came upon him. For the first three years after the Revolution, he took upon himself the office of preaching at every place where he held his visitation, which was a caution then very necessary, for preventing such of the clergy, as were not satisfied of the justice of the Revolution, from launching out on topics that might give offence to the government, when it should come to their turn to preach. In all the sermons he preached on this occasion, he, with great earnestness, pressed upon the clergy the faithful discharge of the duties of their function; that so they might to the utmost of their power, both by the good examples of their lives, and the soundness of their doctrines, promote the honour of God, and the salvation of souls amongst the people to whom they were sent; and being well informed, that in many families of the clergy, prayers were wholly omitted, and God not at all called upon, either morning or evening; in one of his visitations, he made it the subject of his sermons in all the several divisions of his archdeaconry, to urge them to the performance of this duty. When the Jews pray thrice every day, and the Mahometans five times, he thought it a shame to Christians, especially the clergy, not to do it at least twice every day; prayer being one of the prime duties, which by the nature of their office the clergy are designed to; and the rubrick of the common-prayer (to the observance of which they have all subscribed) obligeth every one of them, as well deacons as priests, to be constant and faithful herein: for the words of the rubric, in the beginning of the *Common-Prayer Book*, under the title, *Concerning the Service of the Church*, are as follow: that "all priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause." It is true, the words immediately following this clause in the rubric direct these morning and evening prayers to be said openly by the minister, in the church or chapel, where they minister: but this being impracticable in country parishes, by reason of the difficulty of getting the people together, from their several distant habitations; the next thing that is practicable, is to be said in its stead, and that is family prayer; for this is open prayer as well as the other in the sense of the rub-

ric, which is manifest, in that it is there opposed to private prayer. Both therefore are included in the obligation of this rule; so that where the former cannot be performed, the other at least must. But however this be, as it is the duty of every man, that is master of a family, to take care that God be daily worshipped in it, more especially it is so, if he be of the clergy, who are all consecrated, and set apart for the work of prayer, as well as that of preaching the word; and therefore ought by their example, as well as by their instruction and exhortation, to excite all men thereto; and consequently are of all men most unpardonable, if themselves neglect this duty. The Doctor carried this matter so far, as to tell them, that prayer was so much the duty of the clergy, that every one of the order should not only be diligent and constant in daily offering of it up unto God every morning and evening with his whole family; but that in whatever other family he should at any time happen to lodge, he ought to offer his prayers to the family, if they should not be otherwise provided for that duty, and exhort them to join with him in them; and should they refuse to hearken to him therein, let him look on that house, as unfit for a clergyman to make his abode in, and avoid it accordingly.

THE bishoprick of Norwich being vacant, on Bishop Lloyd's deprivation, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, and Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; were appointed by commission to govern the diocese, till a successor should be nominated; and they consulted and advised with Dr. Prideaux, in most things, which they did by virtue of this delegacy, who served them on all occasions much to their satisfaction.

THE cause of Bishop Lloyd's deprivation was his not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, as has been mentioned above; for on his first refusal, August the 1st, Anno Domini, 1689, he was with several others of the clergy, who were of the same sentiments with him as to this matter, suspended from his office, and on his persisting in the same refusal, was on the first of February following, deprived and wholly outed of his bishoprick, according to the tenor of an act of Parliament, in that behalf made; and thereby the diocese was deprived of a very able and worthy pastor; for he was an excellent preacher, a man of great integrity and piety, thoroughly understood all the parts and duties of his function, and had a mind fully bent to put them all in execution, for

the honour of God, and the good of his church on all occasions. He was first bishop of Llandaff, from thence translated to Peterborough, and from thence by another translation, promoted to the see of Norwich. After his deprivation, he lived very retired, in some of the villages near London; first at Hoxton, next at Wandsworth, and afterwards at Hammersmith; where he died on the first of January, Anno Domini, 1709, being full twenty years after he had been deprived of his bishoprick.

Whilst Dr. Prideaux lived at Saham, he contracted a friendship with several of the neighbouring gentry; particularly with Sir John Holland, and Sir Edward Atkins. The former of these was a gentleman, who retained a remarkable vigour in a very advanced age, being past ninety, when the Doctor first became acquainted with him; and afterwards lived to be within one of an hundred. He was a person of great understanding and wisdom, and had made a very considerable figure in the long parliament, where he was always for moderate measures, and sided with those, who were for composing matters with the king; till at last, finding that all attempts of this kind were constantly defeated by the violence of parties, sometimes on the side of the parliament, sometimes by the king, and that there were no hopes of bringing matters to an accommodation, he began to despair, of being any longer serviceable to his king or his country, and therefore retired into Holland, where he lived most part of his time, till the return of King Charles the Second, when he was appointed one of the commissioners sent by the parliament to bring him home. As to Sir Edward Atkins, he lived much nearer the Doctor, and conversed with him more frequently. He was a man of great piety, probity, and goodness, and had in the reign of King James the Second, been Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and acquitted himself in that post, with great justice and integrity, especially towards the clergy, whom he would never suffer to be oppressed, and of whose rights he was remarkably careful, whilst he presided in that court. On the accession of King William and Queen Mary, having refused to take the oaths, this excluded him from all place under the government in that reign, on which he retired to Pickenham in Norfolk, and their lived quietly, greatly respected and esteemed by all his neighbours, to whom he was very useful, in reconciling their differences. For being a man of great reputation and integrity, whenever any contro-

very arose amongst them, they usually referred it to his arbitration; which he always decided with justice and equity, and generally to the satisfaction of both parties. This was his chief employment and delight in this retirement, scarce a week passing, in which he had not several of these causes brought before him; for as his fame spread all over the country, people came from considerable distances, to lay their causes before him. As to the oaths, though he always refused to take them himself, he condemned no one else who did. His usual saying was, when he was discoursed with about this matter, that the devil was busy with men on their death-beds; and therefore he would keep his mind free, that when he should come to die, he might have no doubts or fears on this account to disturb his conscience. About a year after Dr. Prideaux left Saham, Sir Edward also left Pickenham, and removed with his family to London, where he not long after died of the stone.

In the beginning of the year, 1689, it being thought proper to fill up the vacant dioceses, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was declared Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Beveridge, Bishop of Bath and Well's, Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Moor, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Patrick was translated from Chichester to Ely, and Dr. Grove, made Bishop of Chichester in his place, and Dr. Ironside, Bishop of Bristol, was translated to Hereford, and Dr. Hall was nominated to the bishoprick of Bristol in his stead. But Dr. Beveridge having refused to take the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, on account of his friendship with Bishop Ken, who had been deprived of the same for not taking the oaths, Dr. Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough, and one of the prebendaries of Norwich, a particular friend of Dr. Prideaux's was appointed bishop of that diocese in his stead. About the same time, Dr. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York dying, Dr. Sharp, Dean of Canterbury was appointed to succeed him. And all these being settled in their several bishopricks, before the next session of Paliament, took their seats there, and supplied the bench of bishops, which, till then had been very thin, ever since the Revolution.

While the filling of these sees was under deliberation, the bishops of London and St. Asaph both earnestly recommended Dr. Prideaux for the bishoprick of Norwich, without

his knowledge or desire. For had their recommendation taken place, and the Doctor thereon been named to that bishoprick, he must have followed Dr. Beveridge's example, and refused it on the same account as Dr. Beveridge did; that was, because of his great friendship with Bishop Lloyd. For one of the last things, that good bishop did in his diocese, was making Dr. Prideaux Archdeacon of Suffolk; and should the doctor after this, have accepted of his bishoprick, it would have sounded ill with many, and carried somewhat like the appearance of ingratitude towards his benefactor; not but that the doctor well knew there would have been no justice in such a censure; for if Bishop Lloyd could not with a safe conscience bring himself to take these oaths, which the law of the land prescribed, as a necessary qualification for holding his bishoprick, he certainly did right in quitting that, rather than offering any violence to his conscience, in this matter: but there is no reason why the church of that diocese should remain without a pastor, or another, who did not labour under the same scruples with Bishop Lloyd, should decline the acceptance of that office, for which the other was by law disqualified, and that without any injury or injustice to him. However, Dr. Prideaux considered, that it was necessary, especially for one in that station, to avoid all appearance of evil. And that a bishop must have the good esteem of his people, in order to make his ministry efficacious amongst them; that this esteem was as much diminished by actions mistakenly reputed evil, as by those, which are truly so; and in short, that a bishop should be as Cæsar would have his wife, not only clear of all guilt, but free from the imputation of it likewise.

In the first session of Parliament, after the new bishops had taken their seats there, two bills were brought into the House of Lords relating to the church, in both of which Dr. Prideaux happened to be concerned. The first was to take away pluralities of benifices with cure of souls, the other to prevent clandestine marriages: that which was for taking away pluralities of benefices with cure of souls, was chiefly pushed on by Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury; and before any thing on this subject was offered to the Parliament, that zealous and learned bishop communicated the design with a draught of it to Dr. Prideaux, and asked his advice upon it. The Doctor in his letter, which he wrote to the bishop in answer to this, made three objections against it. First, that it was too long;

for that the privilege the lords have of qualifying their chaplains for pluralities, being what they will be very unwilling to have taken away or lessened, it is to be expected, that the bill will meet with great opposition in the upper house, and every word of it will be there scanned and canvassed, in order to throw it out; and therefore the more words there are in it, the larger scope will be given for objections. Secondly, it takes away all pluralities without exception; whereas there are a great number of parishes in England so meanly provided with maintenance for their ministers, that unless they be allowed to be served by some of the neighbouring clergy, they will be wholly deserted; and therefore it is necessary, that for such cases at least, exception be made, and pluralities allowed of. Thirdly, it seemed to cut those of their pluralities, who had by legal dispensations been settled in them before the date of the bill; which would be thought a great hardship on the present possessors, who have purchased those dispensations, and make the bill to pass the Parliament with greater difficulty. His advice therefore was, that the bill, without any retrospect to what was thus passed, should only provide, that all pluralities for the future should be restrained within the limits of five miles distance, measuring it by the common road from one church to another; and that all this be expressed in as short a bill as possible: And such a bill the Doctor drew up, at his Lordship's request, and sent him, with a short treatise concerning his reasons for the same. This bill was by his Lordship offered to the archbishop, who, at a meeting of the bishops at Lambeth, having laid it before them, with several other draughts prepared for the same purpose. Dr. Prideaux's bill was unanimously approved of, and chosen by them, before all the other draughts; and it was then agreed, that this should be the bill, which should be offered to the Parliament. But the lords, as Dr. Prideaux had apprehended, were so fond of their privilege of qualifying chaplains for pluralities, that they would hearken to nothing, which should diminish or restrain it; and therefore would not allow the bill, so much as to be once read in their House. Dr. Prideaux however in hopes, that the good of the church might at sometime prevail so far, as to have this considered again with better success, and that this bill and treatise might then prove of some use, for regulating this matter, caused them both to be printed in the year 1710, and published at the end of his book, concerning the original and right of tythes.

As to the other bill against clandestine marriages, it was brought into the House of Lords by one of the peers: and the purport of it was, to make it felony in the minister, who solemnises or officiates at such marriage. Upon this a long debate arising, Dr. Kidder, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, wrote to Dr. Prideaux to desire his opinion about it; The Doctor, on the receipt of his Lordship's letter, which came to him on Monday, wrote an answer, and sent it, by the next post, the Wednesday following. It contained about three sheets of paper, in which he shews, that the original law for preventing clandestine marriages ordains, that the banns of matrimony shall be three times published in the church or chapel, to which each party belongs, before any marriage shall be solemnised between them. Secondly, that this law is not to be dispensed with, or any licence granted thereon to marry, without the said publication of banns, but to persons of good state and quality. Thirdly, that all such dispensations and licences be granted only by the ecclesiastical judge, who hath power to examine upon oath, whether the said marriage may be legally celebrated or not. Fourthly, that the judge, on his examining into the case, must have it vouched to him, by the oath of one of the parties at least, that there is no let, impediment, or præcontracts, consanguinity, affinity, or any other cause whatsoever, nor any suit commenced in any ecclesiastical court to barr or hinder the proceedings of the said matrimony; and he must farther have it attested by the oaths of two other witnesses, whereof one is to be known to the judge, that the parties to be married (if under age) have the consent of parents or guardians, in case the parents are dead: and when he is satisfied of all this, and hath also taken security for the same, he may then, and not before, decree for the dispensation, and grant licence accordingly, for the celebration of the marriage, without publication of banns; provided he direct it to be done in the church or chapel, to which both or one of the parties belong, and not elsewhere And fifthly, the Doctor farther shewed in the said letter, that in case, all these rules and precautions were duly executed and observed, it is scarce possible, any clandestine marriage should ever happen. But should they be all observed, not one third part of the licenses now made sale of would be granted out, which would very considerably diminish the income, which chancellors, commissaries and their registers make of their places; and therefore, they have, by a general conspiracy, all England over, set them aside for the sake of promot-

ing their own unjust lucre. For now, instead of observing the rules, and taking the precautions and securities above-mentioned, in granting matrimonial licenses; chancellors and commissaries seal them up in heaps, leaving blanks to be filled up, for any that will pay for them; and thus send them to market all over their jurisdiction, to be put off, as it happens, to any who want them, without any other examination than of the purse of the purchaser, whether he hath money enough to pay the fees. Thus it comes to pass, that abundance of ruinous matches are constantly contracted under the authority of these illegal licenses; and the scandal of all falls upon the church. In the same letter, the Doctor takes especial notice of another particular, which is, that whereas the canons of 1603, do more than once enjoin, that all marriages shall be celebrated in the church or chapel, to which one or both of the parties belong, lest the minister might be surprised into the celebrating of an illegal or unfitting marriage, by his not knowing the parties; they take upon themselves the liberty of acting contrary to this rule at their pleasure; and without any regard to the canons, which prescribe it, direct their licenses to be executed in any church or chapel within their respective jurisdictions which the parties or either of them shall desire; and this hath given an opportunity to the bringing about most of the stolen marriages, that are complained of, which, had this rule been duly observed, would in all likelihood have been prevented: for all persons being usually well known in the parishes where they live, especially to the minister, the fraud of such a marriage cannot but be seen and discovered, when it comes to him to be executed; and in consequence, if he be not a very bad man, hindered and prevented by him. On the other hand, places, where the parties are least known, are the properest for acts of fraud and illegality; and such they will never want, as long as chancellors and commissaries take the liberty of granting the licenses above-mentioned; and thereby encourage and help forward the iniquity, which they are in duty bound to prevent.

Dr. Prideaux's advice therefore to the Bishop of Bath and Wells was, that he should endeavour to prevail with his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, to put the laws in execution; which are already made against clandestine marriages; for better laws cannot be contrived to reform this abuse, than those, which are already to be found in our ecclesiastical constitutions for this purpose: and were

these laws duly observed, and vigorously prosecuted against all that violated them, there would be no need of making acts of Parliament, or establishing sanguinary laws against the clergy for preventing this iniquity.

As to the bill itself, Dr. Prideaux in his letter declared, that should it pass into an act, it would be, in his opinion, the greatest hardship, that ever was put upon the clergy in any christian state; for it would be a continual snare of ruin and destruction to them, since it would subject them to be tried for their lives, every marriage they solemnised. That it would not be a sufficient salvo, to say the license would be their security; for who would care to have the safety of his life depend on a slip of paper, which the rats might eat up, or an hundred other accidents happen to destroy; and then the minister must suffer death for want of it? And farther, for his part, the Doctor declared to the bishop, that after the passing of this bill, whatever should be the consequence, he would never marry any more persons; and was of opinion, that all other ministers, who had any regard for their own safety, would take the same resolution; and then the bill, instead of preventing clandestine marriages, would operate so far, as to put a stop to all marriages whatsoever. These considerations, when offered to the house in the debate, were thought to carry such weight with them, that those, who brought in the bill, were content to drop it, and pressed it no further. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, on his perusal of this letter, forthwith sent it to the press, without Dr. Prideaux's knowledge or consent; and the next week after, to the Doctor's great surprise, it came down to him in print. This he would have had great reason to be offended at, had not the Bishop spared him so far, as not to put his name to it.

In the same year 1691, towards the end of the long vacation, died Dr. Edward Pocock, the eminent Hebrew Professor at Oxford, in the eighty-eight year of his age. On his death, Dr. Prideaux was offered to succeed him in his professor's place, but declined it for several reasons, which at that time made it inconvenient to him to accept it, but afterwards it proved much to his detriment, that he did not.

About Whitsunday, Anno Domini 1692, Bishop Moor first came into his diocese, and Dr. Prideaux then attended him as one of his archdeacons for the examining of candidates, who

offered themselves to be ordained, which afforded him matter of great concern; for he used frequently to lament the excessive ignorance he had met with, in such as offered themselves for holy orders, at their examinations; that men, who were themselves unacquainted with the common doctrines of Christianity, necessary to the salvation of their own souls, should take upon them the sacred office of conducting others to salvation: And this he attributed in a great measure to the neglect of family devotion; for while religion remained in families, and God was daily worshipped, children were early bred up by their parents, and instructed in the knowledge of him; and the principles of Christianity, thus first instilled into them, continued to grow up with them into further knowledge, as themselves grew to be further capable of it. And whilst young men were thus educated, when any of them were sent to the university, there to be fitted by their studies, for the ministry of religion, they carried some knowledge of it thither with them, and thereby became the sooner and more effectually qualified, to become teachers of it. But since family devotion and family instruction, through the causes already mentioned, have been neglected, and this neglect, through the corruption of the times, has grown so fast, as now in a great measure to have overspread the land, young men frequently come to the university without any knowledge or tincture of religion at all; and having little opportunity of improving themselves therein, whilst under-graduates, because the course of their studies inclines them to philosophy and other kinds of learning; they are usually admitted to their first degree of Bachelor of Arts, with the same ignorance as to all sacred learning, as when first admitted into the universities; and many of them as soon as they have taken that degree, offering themselves for orders, are too often admitted to be teachers in the church, when they are only fit to be catechumens therein. These considerations made the Doctor often lament the loss of Dr. Bushby's benefaction, who offered to found two catechistical lectures, one in each university, with an endowment of 100*l.* per annum, each, for instructing the under-graduates in the rudiments of the Christian religion; provided all the said under-graduates should be obliged to attend those lectures, and none of them be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, until after having been examined by the catechist, as to their knowledge in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, and by him approved of. But this condition being rejected by both universities, the bene-

faction was rejected therewith; and the church hath ever since suffered for the want of it. He used likewise to complain of another abuse, which he frequently met with at ordinations; that is, false testimonials; for how defective soever any of the candidates may be in their learning, and how faulty and scandalous soever in their manners, they never want ample testimonials, with the full number of neighbouring ministers' hands thereto, vouching the contrary. By this means bishops are often so deceived, as to admit into orders such, as are notoriously unworthy of them. This the Doctor thought was a scandalous abuse in those ministers, who misguided and imposed on bishops by such false testimonials; for the remedying of which it would be proper, that any minister, who should thus endeavour by unjustifiable means to procure orders for an undeserving person, should himself be suspended from his own, till he was made sensible of his error; and ever after stand unqualified for giving any more testimony in the like cases.

After the Act of toleration had passed the royal assent, the first of King William and Queen Mary, many people foolishly imagined, that they had thereby full liberty given them, either to go to church or stay away, and idly dispose of themselves elsewhere, as they should think fit; and accordingly, the public assemblies for Divine worship on the Lord's day were much deserted, and ale-houses much more resorted to than the churches. Dr. Prideaux, in order to put a stop to this growing evil, drew up a circular letter, directed to the ministers of his archdeaconry, in which, after he had informed them, that the said act gave no toleration to absent from church, but only to such, who, dissenting from the established religion, worshipped God elsewhere, with one of the dissenting sects mentioned in the said act, and that all who absented themselves from church, and did not thus worship God elsewhere, were under the same penalties of law as before, and ought to be punished accordingly, he desired them to send for their churchwardens, and having fully instructed them in this matter, exhort them to do their duty herein, and present, at all visitations for the future, all such profane and irreligious absenters from church, in the same manner as formerly used to be done before this act was made. This circular letter he sent to London, and having there gotten as many copies of it to be printed, as there were parishes in the archdeaconry; on his next visitation,

which was Michælmas, Anno Domini 1692, dispersed them amongst the ministers of the said parishes, giving each of them one. It was afterwards published at the end of his *Directions to Churchwardens*, and underwent several editions. This letter, he found, had, in some measure, its intended effect, though it could not wholly cure this evil.

On Michælmas, 1694, he thought proper to leave Saham, and return again with his family to Norwich, after he had resided there about four years. His reasons for leaving this place were, that the country thereabouts subjecting people to agues, his family were hardly ever free from that distemper, all the time he lived there. He was himself sick of it a considerable time; and two of his children were so long ill, and contracted so bad a state of health from it, as afterwards cost them both their lives. Besides, being obliged to leave most of his books at Norwich, as not having room for them in his house at Saham, this hindered him from carrying on his studies according to his inclinations; and in these he was further interrupted, whilst he tarried there, by the avocations he frequently met with in country business, which made him weary of the place; and on all these considerations, he determined to leave it. On his quitting Saham, he gave it up altogether, without reserving to himself any of the profits, as he might have done, by putting a curate on the parish; and resolving that as far as in him lay, the benefice and the office should go together, he resigned both into the hands of the bishop, and wrote to the warden and fellows of New-college, in Oxford, who were patrons of the living, to present another which they did accordingly.

On the Doctor's return to Norwich, the whole business of the cathedral fell again into his hands, and he was obliged to undertake the burden of it, to prevent all from running to confusion. The dean resided mostly at London, and hardly ever came to Norwich till towards the latter end of his time; and Dr. Prideaux, after he had left Saham, being constantly there, this gave him a full opportunity to make himself master of the affairs of that church; which he continued to take care of till the time of his death.

On the 12th of February Anno Domini 1696, he was instituted into the vicarage of Trowse, on the presentation of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. It is a little village, within a mile

of Norwich, and a very small benefice, being hardly worth to him more than forty pounds per annum. However, having no cure, since he had resigned Saham, he took this small vicarage, rather for the sake of exercising the duties of his function in that parish, than out of any regard to the small profits arising therefrom: for though his prebendship of Norwich, and archdeaconry of Suffolk, which were all the preferments he had at this time, fell very much short of a sufficiency to support him, yet, as he had private fortunes of his own, he needed not so small an accession for his maintenance. Having taken upon himself this cure, he diligently attended it, serving it himself every Sunday for several years together, till he was disabled by the calamitous distemper of the stone, from going any more into the pulpit, and then resigned it; as will be hereafter mentioned, it being his resolution, not to keep any cure, which he could not serve himself.

In Easter term, 1697, he published his life of Mahomet, which was so well received in the world, that three editions of them were sold off the first year. He had long designed to write a history of the Saracen empire, from the beginning of it, till it fell into pieces, by the governors of provinces setting up each for themselves, Anno Domini, 936, which was three hundred and fourteen years from its first rise under Mahomet. By this partition, all the power and grandeur of it had an end though its name, with a small territory round Bagdat, continued under the succeeding caliphs some ages after. This history, as it was to have given an account of the rise and progress of this empire, and of the Mahometan religion with it; so was it likewise to have comprehended the decay and fall of the Grecian empire in the east, and the Christian religion, which sunk with it in those parts; for the power of the one empire being built on the decay and ruins of the other, their histories are necessarily connected and interwoven with each other. The Doctor begun his history from the death of Mauritius the Greek emperor, which happened, Anno Domini, 602, and had gone some way in it, before he went to Saham; but not being able to go on with it there, for want of his books, which he had left behind him at Norwich, as was mentioned before, the work stood still some time. However, on his return to Norwich, he resumed it again, with an intention of perfecting it; but whilst he was thus engaged in it, some reasons occurred to him, which made him desist from prosecuting it any farther. He came to a resolution therefore to

publish only that part of it, which contained the life of Mahomet, and drop all the rest. What the reasons were that induced him to alter his design, being fully shown in his preface to that book, there is no need of repeating them here.

THE Doctor found in his archidiaconal visitations, that the churchwardens of his archdeaconry of Suffolk, as in all other archdeaconries, instead of presenting what was amiss, as they are bound by their oaths, at those visitations, usually gave in their presentments, as if all was right; and that for those parishes, where the contrary was most notorious. This afforded him, as it must every honest and considerate man, matter of melancholy reflection, that three or four hundred men should thus deliberately perjure themselves twice a year. In order therefore to put a stop to this evil, as far as it was in his power, he wrote his directions to churchwardens, instructing them in all the branches of their duty, which they had sworn to observe, and exhorting and directing them faithfully and carefully to discharge their offices. This tract, as it was written for the use of his archdeaconry, he immediately dispersed through all the parishes of it, as soon as it came from the press. The first edition bore date, December the 20th, 1707, and since that, several other editions have been published: the third, which bore date in September, 1712, is the completest; for this the Doctor published, after having revised the two former editions, and made many considerable additions and enlargements. This therefore, as it came from the author's last hand, and those editions, which have since been published from it, I should choose to recommend to such, as have occasion for the book.

IN December, Anno Domini, 1701, a convocation being met at London, for transacting the affairs of the church, Dr. Prideaux went thither, and took his seat amongst them as Archdeacon of Suffolk. On his arrival, he found them divided into the High-church and Low-church parties. The first thing, that came under their consideration, was the choice of a prolocutor. The High-church party set up Dr. Woodward, Dean of Salisbury; and the others proposed Dr. Beveridge, Archdeacon of Colchester. The former carried the election by a great majority, and took the chair accordingly, in which he conducted himself with candour and abilities much beyond what was expected from him. And now, a debate arose, concerning the privileges of the lower house,

where a majority of the members claimed to be on the same footing, as to the upper house, that the Commons in Parliament are, in regard to the House of Lord's; that is to adjourn by their own authority, apart from the upper house, when, and to such time, as they should think fit. This the upper house, that is, the Bishops, would not admit of, but insisted, that the ancient usage, which had been all along continued, was, that the president adjourned both houses together, and to the same time; and that this was signified by a schedule sent down to the lower house; and that this practice they would abide by, and allow of no other: and so far Dr. Prideaux concurred with them, as thinking them in the right. But as to their requiring, that the lower house should break up, as soon as the schedule come down to them, and appoint no committees to sit and act, on the intermediate days; he was clearly of opinion, that in both these particulars, they were wholly in the wrong; for as the bishops usually break up very early, to attend the service of the House of Lord's in Parliament, and then send down the schedule of adjournment to the lower house, if on the receipt of this schedule, the lower house must immediately break up also, what time could they have to dispatch the business before them? It seems natural from the reason of the thing, that the day of sessions be alloted for the business of it; and if so, what leisure can there be, unless on intermediate days, for any committee to sit and do the business referred to them? Two months of this meeting, were taken up in arguing and debating these matters, which were contested with a great deal of heat on both sides, as well without doors, (where there was abundance of pamphlets printed about them) as within the house. At length the lower house appointed a committe to consider of some method, for accommodating and ending this dispute, that so they might be able to proceed in the other business, for which they were called. Dr. Prideaux was one of this committee, who sat some time; but before any report could be made, the prolocutor fell ill and died: upon which, there arose a new debate about appointing his successor; but this did not last long; for within a few days after, on the eighth of March, 1701, King William died, which put an end to the convocation.

On the tenth of May following, Anno Domini, 1702, died Dr. Henry Fairfax, Dean of Norwich, in the 68th year of his age, after having held that deanery upwards of eleven years;

and Dr. Prideaux being appointed to succeed him, was installed into his deanery, the eighth of June following.

As soon as he was settled herein, he set himself to work, in reforming such disorders and abuses, as were crept into the cathedral, which he had no other means of doing, than by purging it of several obnoxious and scandalous persons, who were the occasion of these disorders, and filling up the vacancies, with the best men he could get. This he did; and by admonishing the rest, at length brought the whole choir into perfect good order; and so it continued for several years to the time of his death.

THE third of December, Anno Domini, 1702, being appointed a public thanksgiving-day, on account of our success in the expedition against Vigo, in Spain, Dean Prideaux preached the thanksgiving sermon, at the cathedral church of Norwich, and, by desire of the mayor, and alderman of the city, had it printed. This was the only sermon he ever published; and had he followed his own inclinations, it would have been one of the last of all he had preached from that pulpit, which he had chosen for that purpose; for, according to the general turn of such sermons, it contained little more than an harangue on the occasion of the day. However, after it had been once published, the booksellers thought proper to reprint it, at the end of his Ecclesiastical tracts printed at London, Anno Domini, 1716.

IN Easter term following, Anno Domini, 1703, he published a tract in vindication of the present established law, which gives the successor in any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion all the profits from the day of the avoidance. The occasion of his writing this tract, was as follows: As the law now stands, if a beneficed clergyman dies a little before harvest, his successor shall go away with all the profits; and by this means, often leaves the family of his predecessor in great poverty and distress for the want of them. This was by many thought a very hard case, and several of the clergy clamoured hard for a new law to remedy it; which induced some of the bishops to think of bringing a bill into parliament for this purpose; and the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burnet, being particularly zealous in this matter, undertook to draw the bill. Dr. Prideaux hearing of this, set himself to examine into the case; and after having considered it, wrote this

tract about it; in which as his sentiments happened to concur with those of the Archbishop of Canterbury the archbishop recommended it to the rest of the bishops, who, on perusing it, were so far convinced, that all in general consented to drop it, and there have never since been any thoughts of reviving it. This piece was likewise reprinted with his Ecclesiastical tracts.

In the beginning of the year 1705, the Dean had a very signal deliverance from great danger. Dr. Hayley, late Dean of Chichester, being then in the neighbourhood of Norwich, Dean Prideaux went over to make him a visit; and while he was there, the servants of the house (without the knowledge or privity of their master) made his coachman so drunk, that, on his return, he fell off the coach-box; and upon his falling, the horses immediately took fright, and ran away with him, near three miles full speed, till at length they were accidentally stopped by a poor labouring man returning from his work: and happily the Dean received no harm. This was a deliverance which he was ever after very thankful to God for, whilst he lived. And there were two circumstances, which seemed providentially to concur in saving him: the first was, that on his return, instead of driving the direct road, through which he went, he ordered his coachman to turn to the right hand into another road, which led to a farther part of the city, where some business called him. Now this road being smooth and plain, there was less danger from an accident of this sort; whereas had he gone the other road, which was the nearest way to his own home, there was a steep precipice in it over which the horses would in all probability have fallen, and beat the coach in pieces, and destroyed him. The second was, that a little while before this happened, being in company with some of his friends the case of Bishop Grove, who lost his life by an accident of the like kind, was talked of; and it was then made apparent to him, that the safest way in such a case would be to sit still, and wait the event of an overthrow, or the stopping of the horses, by some other means. And had he not been thus forewarned, he had certainly endeavoured to have leaped out of the coach, which, in all probability, must have been fatal to him; for whilst the horses were running full speed, it was hardly possibly for him to have been so quick in getting out, but the hinder wheel would have caught him in the attempt, and over-run him to his destruction. And this was the ruin

of Bishop Grove, who, whilst the horses were running away with him, endeavoured to leap out; but the hinder wheel of the coach overtook him, ran over him, and broke his leg, of which he died. But these circumstances the Dean ever after looked on, as instances of God's mercy, providentially operating to his deliverance, and, as long as he lived, was thankful for them.

THE maintenance of the parochial clergy of Norwich, depending mostly upon voluntary contributions, gathered from door to door in every parish, in the year 1706, it was endeavoured to bring it to a certainty, by Act of Parliament; and in order to this, a petition from the city being necessary, the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, were solicited to make this petition. While this was in agitation, for the furthering the success of so good a design, Dr. Prideaux published an award made by King Charles the First, and passed under his broad seal for the settling of two shillings in the pound, out of the rents of all grounds, buildings, and edifices, within the said city of Norwich, for the said parochial clergy, to which he annexed a discourse in vindication of the legality, justice, and reasonableness of that award; and in this treated particularly of the nature and legality of personal tythes, and the manner of paying them in the city of London: and though this treatise did not, at that time, answer the end, for which it was intended, and produce the desired effect; yet, as he was in hopes it might some time or other be of use for that purpose, he had it reprinted again amongst his Ecclesiastical tracts, Anno Domini, 1716.

IN the year 1707, the bishoprick of Ely falling void by the death of Bishop Patrick, Doctor Moor, Bishop of Norwich, was translated thither; and Dr. Charles Trimnell, one of the prebendaries of Norwich, was promoted to the See of Norwich. From the translation of Bishop Moor to the naming his successor, near half a year intervened; and during this time, the Dean had many letters sent him by his friends, advising and encouraging him to make interest for the bishoprick: but this he could by no means be persuaded to do, nor did he think it consistent with his interest to accept of it, in case it had been offered him; for he was then near sixty years of age; and as the revenues of his deandry and archdeaconry would better support him in his present situation, than those of the bishoprick in the situation of a bishop, he thought it

better to continue as he was; especially as the coming into that bishoprick in first-fruits, fees, providing a suitable equipage, furnishing his house, and other incidental expences, could not cost him less than 2000*l.* all of which he must save again, out of the bishoprick, or his family suffer by his promotion. There have been frequent instances of bishops, who dying too soon after their promotion have left their families in such poverty, as to want charity for their necessary subsistence. This was the case of Bishop W——k, and this was the case of Bishop G——ve, and would have been the case of Archbishop T——n, had not his widow been assisted after his death, by a pension from the Crown, and what she got of the booksellers for his posthumous sermons. Dr. Prideaux indeed was in no danger of leaving his family in such distress, as he had a temporal estate sufficient to provide for them whenever he should happen to die; but then as he had got nothing by the church, he had no reason to hazard his private fortunes (which were his own, and his wife's inheritance) in the service of it. It is a hard case, it must be owned, on the clergy, that when they are called to bishopricks, they should be so eaten out with the payments of first-fruits and fees, before they can receive any benefit from their preferment: And it were much to be wished, that when the parliament discharged all small livings not exceeding 50*l.* per annum, of all tenths and first-fruits, they had also discharged all poor bishopricks of the same payments, that is, all not exceeding 1000*l.* per annum, considering their attendance at parliament, and other expences in their way of living, that are necessarily annexed to their office. And it would be much easier, if instead of the mock elections of bishops by *Conge d' elire*, and the operose way of suing out so many instruments, and going through so many offices, and there paying so many fees for them, in order to their full settlements in their preferments, bishops were made here in the same manner, as they are in Ireland, by the king's letters patent, in which case, there would be nothing farther necessary, than those letters patent, presenting them to the benefice, as in the case of all other ecclesiastical benefices, in the king's gift, and his mandate to the archbishop, to consecrate, institute, and install them. By these means, a great deal of trouble, and expence would be saved, and deans and chapters delivered from the great danger of a *Præmunire*, which they are liable to in all such elections, if they do not within twenty days, return elected the person, whom the king, in his letters missive, nominates to them. These altera-

tions would make such promotions much more desirable, than they now are, to many, who well deserve them. But that, which made the Dean most averse to pursuing any measures for obtaining the bishoprick, and weighed most with him, was, that he was very easy in his deanery, which he could not promise himself he should be in a bishoprick. In the former, his long experience had made him perfect master of all the business of the cathedral church, which he comprehended in its full extent; but had reason to fear, he should not be able to do the same in the latter, especially since now attending the court, and parliament, and affairs of state, are made so much the business of a bishop, which he knew himself to be wholly unacquainted with. Instead therefore of making any interest for himself on this occasion, he engaged all that he had for Dr. Trimnell, as he had lived a long while in friendship with him, and knew him to be a person of great worth and goodness, and every way deserving the preferment he then aimed at; which the diocese of Norwich afterwards fully experienced to their great satisfaction.

In the year 1709, he published his tract *Of the Original Right of Tythes*. His design at first, was, to give the History of Appropriations; that is, to shew by what means they began, how they were alienated into lay-hands, at the Reformation, the right the church still hath to them, for serving the cure, repairing the chancel, and bearing all other ecclesiastical burdens, the right, which the law hath now given appropriators in them, and what are usurpations made thereupon. This was his main design; and the treating of the original right of tythes was intended no otherwise than as a preface to this work. But when he came to write it, finding it swell to a bulk, beyond what he had expected, he thought it best, to publish this separately, and reserve the rest for a second work, having already made collections for that purpose. Whilst he was engaged in this undertaking, the unhappy distemper of the stone first seized him, which put a stop to all further proceedings: for in order to complete the work, and make it fully answer the end intended, it was necessary for him to consult the Cotton library, the tower of London, and other places, where ancient records are kept, which he could not do, but by taking a journey to those places, and being utterly disabled from bearing any such journey by his distemper, he was obliged to lay aside the whole design.

At the end of this treatise on tythes, he published the bill, which he had drawn for remedying the inconveniencies the church suffers, from the holding pluralities of benefices, with cure of souls; his reasons for this, as well as the occasion of his writing this tract, have been mentioned above.

In the year 1710, being disabled by the stone, from going any more into the pulpit, he resigned his vicarage of Trowse; and the chapter, who had the patronage of it, gave it to one of their minor canons.

When this distemper first came upon him in the spring of the former year, he apprehended it was the stone in the kidney, from whence with much pain, it passed into the bladder; and, when there, as he imagined, adhered to the side of it; for upon his taking a short journey into the country, it was broke off by the shaking of the coach, which occasioned his voiding a great quantity of blood; and from that time he lived in constant pain, till he was cut for it, two years after. His reasons for delaying this so long were that being now past sixty, he was apprehensive it would be impossible for him to go through the operation, without certain death to him; and under such circumstances to put himself into the surgeon's hands, would be little better than self-murder; and rather than be guilty of this, he was determined to submit to the will of God, and patiently endure his calamity, however grievous and tormenting to him. This he did for two years together, suffering all that time extreme torment with great patience. At last, the disorder grew upon him so much, that there was little probability of his living a month longer without some relief, and cutting being the only means, which gave him any prospect of this, he was convinced, that in this case, he might venture to run the hazard of it. He sent therefore for Mr. Salter, a famous lithotomist then in London, to perform the operation; which he did with great dexterity, drawing out the stone, which was nearly of the shape and size of a sheep's kidney, in less than three minutes time. After the operation, Mr. Salter stayed with him about a week; and in this time, the wound healed so fast, and every thing looked so well, as to promise a certain cure in a month or six weeks time. Upon this Mr. Salter returned to London; leaving him in the hands of a young surgeon, who had been bred up under himself, then at Norwich, to finish the cure, and assured the Dean, he would be as safe in his hands, as in his own. But every thing fell out just the

contrary; for after he had been under the care of this surgeon a whole year, he seemed to be much farther from a cure, than when he had first undertaken him; and during all this time the Dean had suffered as much pain and torment from him, as he had before from the stone itself. Whilst he was in this condition, Lord Somers hearing of his case, was pleased to express himself, that he thought Dr. Prideaux a person of greater value than to be so lost; and sent a message to Mr. Salter, reprimanding him for having taken so little care of him. This produced a letter from Mr. Salter to the Dean, in which, he earnestly advised and desired him, to come to London to him; and accordingly the Dean, finding no assistance to be had where he was, resolved on this journey; and for the conveniency of his travelling, contrived to take out all the seats of a large stage-coach in which he laid his quilt and other bed cloaths, and lying thereon at his full length, was carried to London, with as much ease and safety, as if he had been in a litter. When Mr. Salter came to him, and examined into his case, he found the urinary passage ripped up and destroyed, and every thing so miserably mangled and wounded, that he expressed no little wonder to find him alive after usage, which he thought would have killed any body else. Nothing now remained but to cure these wounds, which he did in about two months time, when the Dean returned to Norwich again; but was ever after this, obliged to void his urine through an orifice, left in the place where the stone had been extracted, which was a great inconvenience to him all his life after.

On his return to Norwich, he again applied himself to his studies, which had been greatly interrupted by his unhappy distemper. The first thing he undertook after this, was to review his *Directions to Churchwardens*, upon the bookseller's signifying to him, that he intended to print a third edition of that tract; and having made large additions to it, a third edition was printed and published in Michaelmas term, 1712.

Having finished this work, he went on with his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, which he had begun immediately upon his dropping the design of writing *The History of Appropriations*; but being interrupted by his disorder growing upon him, was obliged to lay it quite aside, till God should give him better health to enable him to proceed in it; and having now, by his mercy, in some measure ob-

tained this, he pursued his intention, and finished the first part in the year 1715, which was published in Michaelmas term following. The second part came out two years after in Hilary term, 1717–18. This work, at the end of the year 1720, had undergone eight editions in London, besides two or three printed at Dublin *. Little need be said of a book, which is so generally well known, and has been read by most persons of all ages, who delight in reading at all, as affording abundant matter for the instruction as well as entertainment of all sorts of persons. In a work of this kind, which is so extensive in its own nature, and collected from such variety of authors of different nations, ages, and languages, who so often contradict one another, where they speak of the same facts and persons, and sometimes themselves, it is not to be wondered at, if there are some mistakes; but much more so, that so few of these have hitherto been observed by the learned. The following letters, which were written in answer to some observations of this kind, sent him by his learned and ingenious friend and kinsman, Walter Moyle, Esq. will sufficiently testify, with what candour he treated such as differed from his opinions, and how ready he was to re-examine and correct any thing, that was thought amiss.

† DR. PRIDEAUX'S FIRST LETTER TO MR. MOYLE.

"*DEAR COUSIN,*

"I THANK you for your kind letter, and the pains you have taken about my book. I should have been glad of so learned a friend near me, to whom I might have communicated this history before it was printed. But now three editions being published of it, your observations come too late to be of any use for the correcting of any thing, that is mistaken. However, I should be glad to have all that you have observed; and if I live to see a fourth edition, I shall be sure to examine all that you shall suggest to be amiss; and as I shall see cause for it, make corrections accordingly.

"As to your first observation, concerning the East-India trade, I perceive, my good cousin has not observed, that all that I say of it, is of the trade by sea, and not of the trade by

* It has likewise been translated into the French and Italian languages.

† Vide Moyle's Works, printed at London, 1726, Vol. II.

land, I thought no reader would have understood it otherwise; but since you have, I shall in the second part, where I shall have occasion to speak of this matter again, put in such words, as shall prevent all misunderstanding of this matter.

As to what you write of Zoroastres, I am of nothing more sure in ancient history, than that he was never king of Bactria, or any other than a juggling impostor; and that the time of his flourishing was in the time of Darius Hystaspes: and all the Greeks, that say any thing to the purpose, agree in this time. For his being king of Bactria, and his making war with Ninus, there is no authority but that of Justin's, and those who have wrote from him. All the Greeks speak otherwise of him, and some give him a very fabulous antiquity. But since you desire only to have it proved to you, that he was not ancienter than the time of Darius Hystaspes, I will send you no farther, than to the place in the proem to Diogenes Laertius, which I have quoted: there the successors of Zoroastres being named, Ostanes is reckoned the first of them, and he came into Greece with Xerxes. Suidas calls him Περσομήδης; but there were no Persomedians before Cyrus united Media and Persia together. Suidas, I confess, is no old author, but his collection is made out of those, that were so; and many of those he used are now lost. That he is made contemporary with Pythagoras, is another reason for the same thing. That passage, which you refer to in Arnobius, if it proves any thing, it proves him to be contemporary with Cyrus. And Apuleius' placing him in the time of Cambyses sufficiently shows, there was then an opinion, that he lived about that time: and putting all this together, I think it is not to be doubted, but that when others call Zabratus, Zaratus, Zaras, Zaroes, Nazaratus, &c. is the same with Zoroastres, the character of the person, as well as the similitude of the names, proving this opinion. Perchance Porphyrius might think Zabratus and Zoroastres to be two different persons; but this doth not prove them so, Porphyry living many hundreds of years after. All that I aim to prove by these testimonies is, that the best evidence we have from among the Greeks and Latins for the time of Zoroastres placeth him about the time where I have put him. But as to the exact chronology of all his actions (which is not to be found in this or any other matter among the ancient Greeks) I acknowledge, I follow the eastern writers, whose books are all full of him, and that not from oral tradition, as you suppose, but au-

cient authors. The Arabs indeed had no learning till after the time of Mahomet; but the Persians had; and from very ancient times. And therefore I believe no Arab author as to this matter, any farther than he writes from the Persians; and if the Persians have writings of this matter of above two thousand years standing, why should not they be believed as well as Herodotus or Thucydides? 'Zoroastres' own books are still extant among the Magians in Persia, and India; and from them are all the accounts, that in the East are given of him. And his books being of the same sacred regard among them as the *Alcoran* is among the Mahometans, it is not hard to conceive they should be preserved with the same care. As to Texeita, it is not a translation, but a short abstract of Emir Conda's Persian History; that history is ten times as big. And though that author should say nothing of Zoroastres, or Zerdusht, as they call him, this would not prove there was no such person, any more than if the contested passage in Josephus was given up concerning our Saviour, it would prove, that there was no such person as Jesus Christ, because then there would be no mention of him in that history. If there be no mention of Zerdusht in Emir Conda, good reason may be given for it. Emir Conda was a Persian Mahometan, and with them nothing can be in greater contempt than the Magians are in Persia; and that might be cause enough for him not to take notice, either of them or their prophet.

"I BEG your pardon, I have not time to go over all your papers: others, as well as you, call for the second part of my history; and being now in the last scene of my life, and almost at the end of that, I have little time to spare from this work; which for the gratifying of you and others, I would gladly finish before I die; but if I live to finish it, and another edition should be published of the first part, I will then thoroughly examine all that you shall offer, but think my opinion, as to the time of Zoroastres, to be too well founded ever to be altered by me.

"I am, &c."

Norwich, Oct. 14th, 1716.

SECOND LETTER.

"*DEAR COUSIN*,

"I HAVE received more of your papers: To answer fully all that you object, would require a volume, which I have not time or strength to do, being almost worn out by infirmity, caused by the calamity I have suffered, and my advanced age, as being now just upon the seventieth year of my life. This hath so far broken me, as to confine me wholly to my house, and mostly to my chamber. Only since you press particularly about the Ἀνάβασις, my answer is, that Xenophon was not the author of that book, but Themistogenes of Syracuse. This Xenophon himself says, in the beginning of the third book of his Hellenics. If you please to consult *Usher's Annals, sub Anno, J. P.* 4313, you will find this there more fully made out. I have indeed quoted that book under the name of *Xenophon*, because of the common opinion, which every where attributes it to him; but I think the truth is otherwise. I perceive you hang much upon the matter of Zoroastres; but all that you object is built upon mistakes: If you do not place him where I have, where else will you place him? Will you put him with Plutarch five thousand years before the war of Troy; or with others six thousand years before the time of Plato? Others indeed reduce the thousands to hundreds; but all is fable, for the ancients much affected a fabulous antiquity for all they relate. They, who put things latest, are generally nearest the truth. It is easy in all such matters to make objections for pulling down; but then you ought to build up better in their stead. I write with a paralytical hand, which makes writing difficult to me; for which I also need your pardon.

"I am, &c."

Norwich, Jan. 30, 1716.

THIRD LETTER.

"*DEAR COUSIN*,

"THOUGH my hand be almost past writing, as you will sufficiently see by this letter, yet I cannot omit thanking you for the kindness of your last. I hope e'er this you have received my book. I am sure it will no where find a more observing and judicious reader than yourself. I had sufficient experience of this in your learned remarks on the former part. They have instructed me for the making some altera-

tions against another edition; but however I cannot recede from placing the Zoroastres, who was Zerdusht of the Persians, and the author of the book, *Zundavestow* (which is the Bible of the Magians) in that very age, where my book has placed him. To say otherwise would be to contradict all the ancient histories of the Persians, and the general tradition of all the East. What you object out of *Xanthus Lydius*, who lived in that very age, in which I place Zoroastres, looks like an unanswerable argument, it being by no means likely, that this author should assert Zoroastres to have lived six hundred years before the expedition of Xerxes, if he was his contemporary. One answer hereto is, the history, that in the time of Diogenes Lærtius went under the name of *Xanthus Lydius*, was none of his, but written by Dionysius Scytobrachion, who lived a little before the time of Tully and Julius Cæsar. This Athenæus tells us Lib. XII. and quotes for it Artemon Cassandreus, who wrote a treatise on purpose to make a distinction of the genuine authors from the spurious, which were then extant. But I am rather apt to think with Pliny (Lib. XXX. c. 1.) that there were two Zoroastres, the elder of which was the founder of the Magian sect, and the other the reformer; and that this latter was the Zerdusht of the Persians, and lived in the time where I have placed him. Pliny, in the chapter last quoted, tells us of a Zoroastres, who lived but a little before (*paulo ante hunc* are his words) that Ostanes, who came with Xerxes into Greece. Plato, in the tenth book of his Politics, spoke of a Zoroastres, who was Herus Armenius a Pamphylian. This same was the Armenius Pamphilus, who, Arnobius tells us, was familiarly acquainted with Cyrus. (See *Clem. Alex. Strom.* V. p. 436. *Edit. Hins. Arnob. Lib.* I. *p.* 31.) I acknowledge the passage in *Arnobius* is very dark; but if it signifies any thing, it must signify thus much, that there was a Zoroastres, who lived in the time of Cyrus. I may add hereto, that the antiquity, which most of the ancients among the Greeks and Latins attribute to Zoroastres, is notoriously fabulous, as that of five thousand years before the wars of Troy, and another of six thousand years before the times of Plato, &c. In most pretences to antiquity, it may go for a general rule, that they, who say the latest, say the truest. As to your other objection against Alexander's having been at Jerusalem, the place you refer to in Pliny, manifestly makes against you; for the words there plainly prove, that Alexander was then at Jericho, when that incision was made in the balsam trees, which he makes men-

tion of; otherwise these words, *Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente*, would be very impertinently inserted; and if he were at Jericho, he could not go from thence to Gaza, without taking Jerusalem in his way. The words in Pliny to me plainly imply that Alexander was at Jericho, when that incision was made, and that it was made at that time for his sake, to gather some of the balsam. That an extraordinary providence has always attended that people for their preservation is manifest. That they are now in being, is a sufficient proof hereof.

"I am, &c."

Norwich, July 10, 1718.

FOURTH LETTER.

"*DEAR COUSIN*,

"I DO most heartily thank you for your kind letter, especially for the observations, which you have sent me of my mistakes in the last part of my history. I must confess that about Octavius' posterity is a very great one. It is a downright blunder of my old head; and I am glad so accurate and learned a reader has not observed more of them. This makes me hope that no more such have escaped me, I have mended this and all the others you have taken notice of; only I cannot make Socrates a Sodomite. The place in *Juvenal*, which you mention, reflects on him for his affection to Alcibiades, as if that were a sodomitical amour. I am past labouring any further, being now past the seventieth year of my age; if I outlive the ensuing winter, it is more than I expect, or indeed desire; for I have now upon me those decays both of body and mind, as make me fully sensible, *Gravis est et dura senectus*. Every body cannot live so long as my aunt M. M. though perchance I might have lived much longer, and in full vigour, had not my great calamity come athwart me: considering that, it is much, that I have lasted so long. I bless God for all his mercies hitherto.

"I am,

"Dear Cousin, &c."

Norwich, Septemb. 6, 1718.

THE learned and ingenious Mr. Warburton has likewise differed from Dr. Prideaux as to the age of Zoroastres, in his *Demonstration of the Divine Legation of Moses*.

In Hillary term, Anno Domini, 1717, he published the second part of the *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, and dedicated this part, as he had done the former, to the Earl of Nottingham, in acknowledgement of the favours he had received from that nobleman.

This history was the last work he finished for the public; for he being now past his seventieth year, he found infirmities grow very fast upon him; and these were hastened on by what he had suffered in being cut for the stone, and the ill management he had afterwards fallen under. About this time, he was seized with a paralytical shaking in his left hand, which six years after seized his right also, and at length weakened it to that degree, that he could no longer hold a pen to write with; and as these weaknesses of body crept on him, they much impaired and weakened the vigour of his mind, so that he could no longer carry on his studies with his usual strength and assiduity, which made him think it time to give over, as one superannuated for any further undertaking; and therefore though he had other works in design, and for some of them had materials in a great measure in readiness for the composure, he thought it properest to drop them all, as not expecting he should live long enough to finish whatever he should begin; and that, if he did finish any thing under these decays and infirmities, it would be liable to great errors; and he did not think it proper either to hazard his own character, or affront the public so far as to offer any thing of this kind. And therefore for the remaining part of his life, he was resolved to send nothing more to the press, but confined himself solely to the duties of the station, to which he was called; and faithfully to discharge these, and bear the burden of his infirmities, was work enough for him during the latter part of his life.

For some time after the publication of his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, seldom a week passed without his receiving letters with remarks and observations upon it from the learned, in different parts of the kingdom; some raising difficulties, others desiring information as to the explaining some difficult passages in it. To all these he constantly returned answers, and gave the best satisfaction he could, till by his age, and other infirmities, he became incapable of bending his mind to any matter of difficulty.

Of all these, who made objections or remarks, there was no one, who did it with more learning or strength of argument than his worthy kinsman Walter Moyle, Esq. of Bake, in the county of Cornwall, who has been mentioned above. This gentleman for his great learning, judgment, and wit, mixed with uncommon humanity and sweetness of temper, was justly esteemed by every one, who had the happiness of being acquainted with him. In the younger part of his life, he had served in parliament several years during the reign of King William, where he made a considerable figure by his great knowledge and learning, much beyond what could be expected at his years. Afterwards he retired into the country, and lived at his seat in Cornwall, upwards of twenty years before he died, where he collected together a well chosen library of books, and amongst these, spent the remainder of his life. He was one of those persons, who, unhappily for the learned world, had no opinion of his own writings: and therefore, not long before he died, destroyed most of his finished performances. He died on the 9th of June, Anno Domini, 1721, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

From the year 1686, to the time of his death, Dr. Prideaux constantly resided at the cathedral, of which he was a member, excepting only the four years that he lived at Saham. How he employed himself there, appears sufficiently from what has been said above. During all the time, that he was Dean, he never had the least difference with the Chapter, or any of the members of it, which other deans, his predecessors, were hardly ever free from. This was owing to the prudence and integrity of his conduct towards them; for he always treated the prebendaries with all the respect that was due to them, and was as careful of their rights as of his own; and never took upon him to determine any thing of the common right and interest of the church, without the common consent and advice of the Chapter. In all his transactions with them he never hid or concealed any thing from, but constantly laid all their affairs openly and fairly before them, as having no views or by-ends of his own to serve; And this was a method of proceeding, which that church had not always been used to, and so far gained him their confidence and esteem, that they trusted all their affairs in his hands, without any reserve, as having never found themselves deceived by his management. His residing constantly at the cathedral gave him an opportunity of looking after the fabric of the church, and see-

ing that it was kept in good repair: and this he took care of as well before, as after he was dean; for, while he was prebendary, he was generally treasurer; and to repair the church was one main part of his office. His method was according to the direction of the local statutes, to order the church every Lady-day to be carefully reviewed by able workmen, and, if any decays were found, he took care to have them repaired by the Machaelmas following, unless they were so great, as to exceed what the revenues of the church could bear; and then, what could not be done in one year, was done in two. And, had he not been thus careful one year particularly, and put the spire which is a beautiful edifice, in thorough good repair, it would in all probability have been blown down by a great storm, which happened very soon after he had caused it to be repaired, and must, in falling, have crushed and ruined a great part of the church.

In the seventy-fourth year of his age, finding himself so much weakened by his infirmities growing upon him, that he could no longer use his books as formerly, and being desirous that his collection of Oriental books should not be dispersed, but kept altogether in some public library, he permitted his son who had been educated at that college, to make a present of them to the society of Clare-hall, in Cambridge; And accordingly they were sent thither, and placed in the college library, to the number of three hundred volumes and upwards.

About a year before his death he was taken with an illness, which so far reduced him, as to confine him wholly to his chamber; and at last his infirmities increased to such a degree, as rendered him incapable of helping himself in the common offices of life. All this was the effect of the ill conduct he fell under after his being cut for the stone; for the long confinement he then underwent, and the loss of blood he sustained weakened him so much in his limbs, that he was never free from paralytical shaking, and rhumatic pains; so that he gave himself up to the thoughts of death, expecting it with that cheerfulness and resignation, which naturally flow from the reflection on a life well spent. He expired on Sunday evening, the first of November, Anno Domini, 1724, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after an illness of about ten days, and was buried, according to his own direction, in the Cathedral of Norwich, on the Wednesday following.

THUS much has been said of his life and conversation in general; As the reader may possibly be desirous, of a more particular insight into his character and manner of life, the following account is taken from the report of those, who knew him best, and conversed with him most intimately.

DR. Prideaux was naturally of a very strong, robust constitution, which enabled him to pursue his studies with great assiduity: and notwithstanding his close application, and sedentary manner of life, enjoyed great vigour both of body and mind for many years together, till he was seized with the unhappy distemper of the stone. His parts were very good, rather solid than lively: His judgment excellent. As a writer he is clear, strong, and intelligent, without any pomp of language, or ostentation of eloquence. His conversation was a good deal of the same kind, learned and instructive, with a conciseness of expression on many occasions, which to those, who were not well acquainted with him, had sometimes the appearance of rusticity. In his manner of life he was very regular and temperate, being seldom out of his bed after ten at night, and generally rose to his studies before five in the morning. His manners were sincere and candid. He generally spoke his mind with freedom and boldness, and was not easily diverted from pursuing what he thought right. In his friendships he was constant and invariable; to his family he was an affectionate husband, a tender and careful father, and greatly esteemed by his friends and relations, as he was very serviceable to them on all occasions. As a clergyman, he was strict and punctual in the performance of all the duties of his function himself, and carefully exacted the same from the inferior clergy and canons of his church. In party matters, so far as he was concerned, always shewed himself firmly attached to the interest of the Protestant cause, and principles of the Revolution; but without joining in with the violence of parties, or promoting those factions and divisions, which prevailed both in the church and state, during the greater part of his life. His integrity and moderation, which should have recommended him to some of the higher stations in the church, were manifestly the occasion of his being neglected; for busy party-zealots, and men more conversant in the arts of a court, were easily preferred over him, whose highest, and only ambition was, carefully to perform what was incumbent on him in every station in life, and to acquit himself of his duty to his God, his friends and his country.

A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER, TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

Dr. William Lloyd *, the most worthy and learned Lord Bishop of Worcester, having, through the hands of Dr. Trimnell, Bishop of Norwich, communicated to Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, his scheme of the seventy weeks of Daniel, and his solution of them; Dr. Prideaux, in a letter writ thereon to the Bishop of Norwich, objected against it, that there were many things in the book of Nehemiah, which the said scheme of Daniel's weeks is inconsistent with; which being communicated to the said Bishop of Worcester, his Lordship writ thereon to the said Bishop of Norwich this following letter.

Hartlebury, June 21, 1710.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

In that part which you gave me of my most learned friend, Dr. Prideaux's letter to your Lordship, he speaks of many things in the book of Nehemiah, with which my account of Daniel's weeks is inconsistent in his opinion. But he mentions not many things, only two or three in his letter; and these are such, as, I conceive, I need not trouble my head with; for they signify nothing to my business, which is only to shew, that, from the going forth of the commandment to build Jerusalem again, to the death of Christ, the cutting off the Messiah, there should be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks; seven weeks, that is 49 years, to the end of the vision and prophecy (Dan. ix. 24.) that is, till the book of Malachi was written; and the other sixty-two weeks, or 434 years, till the anointing of the most Holy (*ib.*) that is, till Christ's being anointed high-priest, with the blood of his own sacrifice, as he was at the time of his death, when the Messias was cut off (v. 26.) upon which the Jews came to be i. e. *non ei*, as it followeth.

The Jews, whom Daniel every where in his prayer calls, *thy people*, God's people, &c. here the angel, speaking from God, throws back upon Daniel, and calls them, *thy people*, that is, Daniel's people (v. 23, 24.) and in these words (v. 26.) the angel shews how they would cease to be God's people: It

* See the *General Diction.* Vol. VII. &c. p. 132—141. Art. *W. Lloyd.*—Dr. Prideaux's 4to Pamphlets, No. 13.

was upon the Messias' being cut off, which was done even by themselves; and, after that, they were therefore *not his people.* But who were to be his people, after this? Even the *Romans.* They are here called *Principis populus futurus.* Even they, that were to burn the city and temple, *i. e.* the *Romans.*

I AM gone beyond what I needed to have written on this occasion. My business was only to shew, from the going forth of the commandment for the building of the city of Jerusalem, till the cutting off the Messias; and thereupon, the Jews being no more his people, was to be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks; in the whole sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years.

I DO here take it for granted, that Daniel's years were just 360 days in a year, such as those King Cræsus reckoned by, as it appears in Herodotus (I. 28.) Of this, I believe, Mr. Dean needs no proof; but if he pleases, I will send him so much, as, I am sure, will be sufficient.

Now, 483 times 360 days makes the sum of 173,880 days, which number of days, beginning in the month of Nisan, in the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Nehem. ii. 1, 6.) that is, in the year 445, before Christ, about the end of April, will certainly end about May, Anno Domini 32. But that time was after the passover, for that year; and therefore Christ could not die in that year, for he could not die but at the time of the passover: on that day, and at that hour, in which the passover-lamb was to be killed, then was Christ our passover to be sacrificed for us. But that must have been Anno Domini 33. Then that passover happened on Friday, April 3; then at three in the afternoon Christ must die: it should be neither later nor sooner. That Christ did die, at that very time, it may be easily proved, by demonstration; and I have shewed it, where there is occasion: but, at this time, I am only to give account, how this, that hath been said, can consist with those things of Jaddus and of Sanballat, in Mr. Dean's Letter.

FIRST, of Sanballat; Mr. Dean seems to think, that he of that name, who gave disturbance to the building of the wall (Neh. ii. 6.) was the same with him, that is spoken of, Nehem. xiii. 28, on the occasion of one of the sons of Joiada, the high-priest, having married his daughter: for that these are two Sanballats, it is certain; for the former Sanballat,

Nehem. ii. 10, was governor of one of the small provinces in or about Palestine, in the year 445, before Christ, which was the time of that building of the wall of Jerusalem, Nehem. vi. 15. It must have been another Sanballat, that was father-in-law of Manasseh, whom all take to have been him, that is spoken of in the last chapter of Nehemiah; for this Sanballat came to Alexander the Great, first at the siege of Tyre, in the year 332, before Christ, which was 113 years after the building of the wall; and he died in October following, that is, after the taking of Gaza, and just before Alexander's coming to Jeruselem. *Joseph. Antiq.* xi. 8.

Soon after, *viz.* in the year 323, before Christ, May 23, was the death of Alexander the Great; and, about the same time, died Jaddus, the high-priest, as Josephus tells us, at the very end of the same chapter, xi. 8.

Of Jaddus, Josephus tells us, that immediately after his death, his son Onias succeeded him in the high-priesthood. This Onias must then have been at least thirty years old; he might have been a great deal more; and, if he was the high-priest, of whom Hecatæus wrote, that eleven years after Alexander's death, he saw him, being then sixty-six years of age, as Josephus *(contra Apionem, Lib.* I. *Edit. Crispini,* 1048. *D.)* tells us, from that history, by this reckoning Onias must have been born in the year 378, before Christ; and then his father Jaddus, likely, was born before the year 400, before Christ; it may very well be, that he was born before the year 404, before Christ, which was the last year of Darius Nothus. This king, as Primate Usher (*Annal.* I. p. 232.) thinks, was Darius the Persian, to the time of whose reign, all the Levites were reckoned, in the times of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, as we read, Nehem. xii. 22. That most learned primate takes it for granted, that the Jaddua, here spoken of, was not then high-priest, at the time of the reckoning of these Levites; but, being then born, and being heir apparent of the high-priesthood, that holy writer might name him together with those of his progenitors, that were all living together. It is not said there, or any where else, in the book of Nehemiah, that Jaddua was then high-priest; only it is said, chap. xii. 11. that Jonathan begat Jaddua; and, verse 22, that such things happened in their days. But, in the next verse, it is said, that the Levites were written in the books of the Chronicles, even

until the days of Johanan, the son of Eliashib; which giveth cause to think, that Joiada was never high-priest, but died before his father Eliashib. And, one might be well confirmed in that opinion, by what he reads in Nehem. xiii. 28. that he that married Sanballat's daughter, was of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the high-priest. If Joiada himself had lived to be high-priest, the writer would have said in fewer words, that he, that had married so, was the son of Joiada, the high-priest. I know nothing of moment against this, but a word or two, that we read of Joiada's succeeding his father, in Josephus, Antiq. xi. 7. But his word, alone, will be of no great authority with any one, that considers how little he knew of the Jews, in those times, or of the Persian Monarchy.

THE best of it is, that all that we have in the book of Nehemiah, concerning these times, after the *going forth* of the commandment to build Jerusalem again, is altogether foreign to the matter now before us: it can neither help us, nor hinder us, in the knowledge of those seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks, that we read of in the angel's prophecy.

I DESIRE Mr. Dean to take notice, that I do not reckon the years of any king's reign any otherwise than as I find them in *Ptolemy's Canon*,

I DESIRE your Lordship to thank him for his kind remembrance of me, and to let him know, that I do heartily desire his prayers, as I do also your Lordship's; for I truly am

Your most affectionate

Brother and Servant,

W. WORCESTER

DR. PRIDEAUX'S ANSWER.

DR. Prideaux, having received from the Lord Bishop of Norwich a copy of this letter, wrote unto the Lord Bishop of Worcester this following letter, in answer thereto:—

MY LORD,

I MUST acknowledge, it is a very great favour, that your Lordship would be pleased to give yourself so much trouble, as to draw up the paper for my satisfaction, which you sent to the Lord of Norwich for me, and which his Lordship has been pleased to communicate unto me.

THEREIN, you say, that the objections I made against your scheme of Daniel's weeks, from the book of Nehemiah, were nothing to your business, which is only to shew that, from the going forth of the commandment for the building of the city of Jerusalem, till the cutting off of the Messias, was to be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks, that is, in all sixty-nine weeks, or 483 years; and that, computing these years from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when that commandment went forth, they exactly end, according to Ptolomy's canon, at the time of our Saviour's death. But I humbly conceive, that, unless it be made out, that the beginning of this computation must be from the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, your hypothesis cannot stand; and therefore it must be your Lordship's business, in the first place, to clear this matter.

IT is said indeed in Nehemiah, that the commandment for the re-building of the city of Jerusalem went out in the 20th year of Artaxerxes. But there were two Artaxerxes, whom this might be attributed to, Artaxerxes Longimanus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon; and the text doth not determine which of these two it was. If it were Artaxerxes Mnemon, all that is said in Nehemiah of Jaddua, Sanballat, and Darius Codomannus, will very well consist therewith; for it is but to suppose, that Nehemiah lived to the time of Darius Codomannus, and then wrote his book (as he might very well do, without exceeding the age of eighty years) and all will be solved and made consistent; and therefore Scaliger, Calvisius, Helvicus, and several other chronologers, come into this opinion.

But, if it were Artaxerxes Longimanus, as your Lordship says it was, in whose 20th year this commandment went forth; then all the objections occur, which I have mentioned; for

1st, It seems evident to me, that the text of Nehemiah xii. 22, where the Levites are spoken of, that were in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, cannot be understood to mean any other days, than those wherein they were high-priests. For the high-priest among the Jews was the head of the priests and Levites; and after the captivity when there was no king in Judah, had the absolute supremacy in all affairs relating to them; and therefore it was as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by times of their high-priests, as it is now with us to reckon of all actions in the state by the times of our kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been in such an high-priest's time, it is as improper to understand it of any other time, than that of his priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a king's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign. For this reason I cannot come into this interpretation, which refers what is said here of the days of Jaddua as far back as the days of his childhood; for it seems to be a very forced sense, which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of Henry the Eighth, will any one understand it of the time before his reign; or think it any other than an absurdity, so to construe it? And, to me, it looks altogether as bad, as to understand what is here said of the Levites to have been in the days of Jaddua, of any other days, than those wherein he was high-priest. And it is to be taken notice of, that the text joins with the days of Jaddua, the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, who were high-priests before him. For it is said, in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, &c. And here I would ask, whether the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, are to be understood of the days of their high-priesthood, or of the days of their life? No doubt, it will be said of the days of their high-priesthood. And why then must not the days of Jaddua be understood so too? I may add further, What need is there, in this case, to name Jaddua's days at all? Because, if they be understood of those, before he was high-priest, they were coincident with the days of Joiada and Johanan, which were named before. And therefore, if we understand those days of Jaddua of any

other days, than those wherein he was high-priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition, as it must not be charged with. Nothing seems more plain to me, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession, one after the other; and therefore we must not run the days of the one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of Jaddua, of the days before he was high-priest, is to support a notion, that the book of Nehemiah, of which this text is a part, was wrote before he was high-priest, and so far back as the time of his childhood. Your lordship placeth it in the last year of Darius Nothus. But then, to name his days with the days of the other high-priests, so many years before he came to be high-priest, and when it must be, on many respects, uncertain, whether he would ever be so, or no, is what, I believe, all the writings of the world beside cannot give us an instance of. For these reasons, I cannot but be of opinion, that these days of Jaddua can be meant of none other than the days of his high-priesthood; and that therefore he was in that office before this text was written: And it also appears to me, that the Darius here mentioned, can be none other than Darius Codomannus, in whose reign Jaddua was high-priest. For the text, bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high-priests, terminates the whole in the days of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius, the Persian, which plainly makes them contemporaries; and therefore Darius, the Persian, in that text, could be none other than Darius Codomannus, because no other Darius but he, was king of Persia, while Jaddua was high-priest at Jerusalem. And, if so, it must be in the reign of this Darius, at the soonest, that this was written, and consequently, Nehemiah, the writer of it, must then be living. And this brings home the objection upon your Lordship's hypothesis, because, according to it, he must have then been, at least, 140 years old, which is very improbable. For, if it were in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus that he came to Jerusalem, with a commission to re-build that city, and be governor of it, we cannot suppose him then to have been less than thirty years old; for a lesser age would be too early for such a trust. After this, Artaxerxes reigned 21 years; after him, Darius Nothus 19 years; after him, Artaxerxes Mnemon 46 years; after him, Ochus 21 years; and then, to the first year of Darius Codomannus, were three years more; all which, put together, make 140 years.

2dly, THE like objection will also lie from the age of Sanballat, the Horonite; for, when Nehemiah came to execute his commission for the re-building of Jerusalem, he found him a governor in those parts, under the king of Persia (whether it were of Samaria, or of some other petty province, as your Lordship says, is not material to our present purpose) and, to qualify him for such a trust, he must then have been, at least, 30 years old. And therefore, if it were in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus that Nehemiah found him thus entrusted, since he died not (as Josephus tells us) till the last year of Darius Codomannus, he must then have been, at his death, 143 years old, which age in him, is much more improbable than the other in Nehemiah. An extraordinary blessing on that good man might be alleged for such an extraordinary age in him, which cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances, apart, look very improbable, but coming together, are much more so, and therefore must be a very strong argument against that hypothesis that infers them. I know some, to solve this difficulty, make two Sanballats; the one named in scripture, who is there said to have married his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada, which they will have to be that Jesus, who was slain by his brother Johanan, in the temple. Joseph. Antiq. xi. 7, and the other, the Sanballat named by Josephus, xi. 7, 8, who married his daughter to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, and built for him the temple at Mount Gerizim. But, where the name is the same, the character of a governor in the neighbourhood of Judea the same, and the circumstance of marrying a daughter to a son of an high-priest, the same, it is hard to suppose two different persons; and scarce any one, that thoroughly considers it, can come into this supposition. Your Lordship, indeed, mends it one particular, in allowing but one marriage of a daughter to an high-priest's son; for, if I take you right, you suppose the Sanballat, who would have hindered Nehemiah in his work, to have been a different person from the Sanballat, who was father-in-law to one of Joiada's sons, Nehem. xiii. 28. That the latter only was the governor of Samaria, of whom Josephus speaks, Antiq. xi. 7, 8, and who died in the last year of Darius Codomannus; and that the other was not the governor of Samaria, but of some other petty province, in the neighbourhood. But, however, this will not solve the difficulty. For, supposing the Sanballat, Nehem. xiii. to be different from the Sanballat, Nehem. ii. and vi. (which I must say, is hard to suppose, since, in both

places, he is called Sanballat, the Horonite) yet this marriage must have been in the 12th year of Nehemiah's government, that is, according to your Lordship's hypothesis, in the 32d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; for in that year Nehemiah went into Persia to the king, and, on his return, found this irregular marriage to have been made, and therefore chaced away from the temple the person guilty hereof. Supposing therefore, this son of Joiada (whom Josephus calls Manasseh, and saith he was his grandson) to have been 20 years old, at the time of this marriage, that is, in the 32d year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, he must have been at his father-in-law's death, 121 years old, though this was but the first year of his priesthood at mount Gerizzim; and, if we suppose the father-in-law to be 22 years older than the son-in-law, there will be the same age of Sanballat, as is above objected, against this hypothesis. So that the making of the Sanballat, Nehem. ii. and vi. and the Sanballat, Nehem. xiii. to be two distinct persons, leaves us just where we were before; and the objection is not at all lessened by it, but is rather made the stronger, by bringing in the improbable age of Sanballat's son-in-law to be a further addition to it.

THUS far I have laid before your Lordship the objections which, I conceive, do lie against your fixing the decree granted Nehemiah for the re-building of Jerusalem, to the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and, since you build your whole scheme on the supposition, that this was that year, I think, it must be your business, in the first place, to make this good, and to clear it against all objections, that it must be the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus only, and not of any other Artaxerxes, that Nehemiah obtained this decree. Otherwise, you beg your principle, and, by thus failing in your foundation, can make nothing stand, which you build upon it; for you begin your computation of the seventy weeks, from that year, for this reason wholly, because you suppose, that in that year the decree was granted. But, if that was not the year, in which this grant was made, but it was the 20th year of another Artaxerxes, then you begin the computation wrong, and if so, you must end it wrong, and all must be wrong, that you do about it. And therefore, I must confess, I cannot but be amazed to find your Lordship saying, that this is none of your business, and that it is foreign to the matter before you; for it seems to me, to be the principle on which all depends, and, without the settling of which, every thing

else, which you do will be foreign, and nothing to the purpose.

HOWEVER, I must acknowledge, your Lordship's scheme is preferable to all others that have been offered, for the solution of this difficult matter. Scaliger's scheme hath not only the same objections against it, from the age Zerubbabel and Joshua must be of, on the second of Darius Nothus (from whence he begins his computation of the seventy weeks) that yours seems to have, from the age of Nehemiah and Sanballat, but also several others. For he doth not end the prophecy at the cutting off the Messias, but at the destruction of Jerusalem; neither doth he begin it from a decree or commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, but only from a decree to finish the re-building of the temple; and further, according to that scheme there will be a very unequal and unlikely distribution of the succession of the high-priest; for, from the ending of the Babylonish captivity to the death of Alexander, there were these six high-priests, succeeding in a direct line, from father to son, Jeshua, Joiachim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua. And, if it were in the 20th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as Scaliger saith, that Nehemiah had the grant for the re-building of Jerusalem, Eliashib must, at that time have been high-priest, for he is said to have been by Nehemiah, at the doing of that work; and, if we suppose him to have been high-priest, from the beginning of that reign, that is, for twenty years before (for he was so for several years after as appears by the same book of Nehemiah) then, from the solution of the Babylonish captivity, to the first of Artaxerxes Mnemon, there would have been but two high-priests, *i. e.* Jeshua, and Joiachim, for the space of 132 years; and then, from thence, there must be four for the remaining term of 81 years, to the death of Alexander; at which time according to Josephus, died Jaddua also. There is, I confess, no difficulty in a succession of four in 81 years; there are many instances of this every where; but that there should be but a succession of two, for 132 years in the high-priest's office, which required the age of thirty, at the least, in the person to be admitted thereto, is not so probable, because, in this case, each must have been, at least, 96 years old, at his death, and, probably, much more. For, it is much more likely, that Jeshua was above 30 years old, at the solution of the Babylonish captivity; but, if he were no more, it is very unlikely, that, dying at the age of 90, he should then have a son of no greater age than 30, to succeed

him. I am the longer upon this, because it is a difficulty upon Scaliger's scheme, that I have not seen taken notice of by any other, and makes much for your Lordship's scheme; for according to that, this difficulty is wholly removed, and the succession of the high-priests will fall very equal, and free from all exception. And, it is to be observed, that the years of their several high-priesthoods, as set down in the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, do not only make a distribution of the successions, which is free from all such exception, but also do exactly agree with scripture, according to your Lordship's scheme; but cannot be so, according to that of Scaliger. For that Chronicon makes Eliashib to die 29 years before Scaliger's scheme brings Nehemiah to Jerusalem, but to have been nine years in the priesthood, at the time of his coming thither, according to your Lordship's scheme; and I look on the Chronicon Alexandrinum to have given us the truest account of the years of each high-priest, in that succession of them, which I have mentioned, and to be the best clue, whereby we may be safely led through the dark history, which we have of the Jewish state, in those times.

And therefore, your Lordship's scheme thus far looking fairer than any other, that hath been offered, I could wish you would apply yourself to clear it of the difficulties above-mentioned; for, were that done, it would stand for ever. And this prophecy of the time of the coming of the Messias would appear to be so thoroughly fulfilled, in the coming of our Saviour, and the argument for his being the person promised herein, would be made so clear and irrefragable, that it would be no longer capable of any contradiction, either from the Jews, or any other adversaries, of our holy Christian religion. And therefore I heartily wish your Lordship would be pleased speedily to publish your scheme, and to take care to clear it from the difficulties above-mentioned. If you would be pleased to give me leave to propose, what I am thoroughly persuaded is the truth of the matter, and what I think would fully solve the whole, I would offer it as followeth:

1st, That those passages, which name Jaddua, in the book of Nehemiah, were all inserted, after the book was written, by those who received it into the Jewish canon, most likely, about the time of the high-priest Simon the Just, when that canon was fully finished. The whole, that hath been said by others on this head, your Lordship well knows, and, I doubt not, can

say a great deal more upon it, fully to clear the thing, and make it thoroughly appear to be the truth, as I am fully persuaded it is; and, when this is cleared, all that is said in the first objection will be cleared also.

2d. As to the other difficulty, which is about the age of Sanballat, it all arising from the inconsistency, which is between the Scripture account, and Josephus' account of the time in which this man lived, if you give up the profane writer to the sacred (as must always be done, where they cannot consist together) there is an end of this matter. And that Josephus, in his bringing down the time of Sanballat to the reign of Alexander the Great, was wholly out, is no hard matter to prove. For it is plain to me, he follows herein the tradition of his countrymen the Jews; whose account, concerning the Persian monarchy, is altogether false and absurd; for they make the whole continuance of it, from the first of Cyrus, to the first of Alexander, to be no more than 52 years: That the Darius, in whom it ended, was the Darius, whom we call Darius Hydaspes; that he was the son of Esther, by Cambyses, whom they make to be the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther; that this Darius was called also Artaxerxes (which they will have to be the common name of the Persian kings,) as Pharaoh was of the Egyptian and that it was in the 20th year of his reign, that Nehemiah rebuilt Jerusalem; and that, sixteen years after, was the end of that empire, and the beginning of the Macedonian. And, although Josephus, who had looked into the Greek historians, could not swallow all this absurd stuff; yet it seems plain to me, he came into so much of it, as was the cause of his error, in this matter of Sanballat. For, although he doth not make Cambyses to be the Ahasuerus of Esther, but carries down that story to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, yet it is clear, to me, he makes the Darius, that next succeeds, to be the Darius, whom Alexander conquered; for he is the last he makes any mention of, in the succession of the Persian kings. After Artaxerxes Longimanus, he immediately names Darius, and, after him, none other. And, according to this account, the Sanballat of the 20th of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and the Sanballat in the time of the last Darius, may, very consistently, be made the same man; for there will be, according to this reckoning, very few years between them. The truth of the matter, I take to have been thus: The Sanballat, who would have hindered the re-building of Jerusalem, was the same, who is said,

Nehem. xiii. 28, to have been father-in-law to one of the sons of Joiada, the high-priest; that Manasseh, who was the son-in-law, was the immediate son of Joiada, as the Scripture saith, and not the grandson, as Josephus saith; that this marriage was made, while Nehemiah, in the 12th year of his government (which was the 32d of Artaxerxes) was gone into Persia to the king; and that, for this reason, on his return, he drove him away from officiating any longer in the temple; whereon, he, retiring to Samaria, about five or six years after, obtained leave, by Sanballat's interest, at the Persian court, to build the temple on mount Gerizzim; which the Jewish chronology running into the time of Alexander, Josephus, for that reason, sets it down as done in the time of Alexander; and this, I verily believe, was the whole authority he had for it. And, that he should make such a mistake in those times, is no wonder, since there may be others observed in him, of the same times, altogether as gross, of which your Lordship takes notice in your paper.

I BEG your Lordship's pardon, that I have transgressed so long upon your patience, with this tedious paper. I humbly offer it to your consideration: and I am,

My Lord,

Your most dutiful

Humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

P. S. AND, I beg leave, further to observe to your Lordship, that, whereas Josephus placeth the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy, in the last year of that Artaxerxes, from whom, according to your Lordship's scheme, Ezra and Nehemiah had their commission; all the Jewish writers do so too, telling us, that Ezra, Haggai, Zachary, and Malachi, all departed out of this life on that year; and that the spirit of prophecy departed with them. But they make that year to be the last of the Persian monarchy, and the very same, in which Alexander came to Jerusalem, and Sanballat obtained that grant for a temple on mount Gerizzim, which Josephus tells us of. And therefore it is plain, to me, that Josephus, in bringing down this matter of Sanballat as low as the time of Alexander, followed the false chronology of his countrymen, the Jews, and not that true computation, which your Lordship reckons by.

TO FRANCIS GWYNN, ESQ. AT FORD ABBEY. NEAR CRUCKERN.

SIR,

I HAVE received the letter you honoured me with; and you should sooner have received an answer to it, had I been in a condition to give it; for I am so broken by age and infirmity, that I have few intervals of health to enable me to do any thing.

I HAVE, indeed, often said, that there is wanting a good history of the East, from the time of Mahomet; and that there are sufficient materials to be had for it, from the writings of the Arabs, of which there is a great treasury at Oxford, especially since the addition of Dr. Pocock's MSS. But I could not say much of the Mamalucs, of whom I know no author, that has written in particular; neither did they deserve that any should.

FOR they were a base sort of people, a Colluvies of slaves, the scum of all the East, who, having treacherously destroyed the * Jobidæ, their masters, reigned in their stead; and, bating that they finished the expulsion of the Western Christians, out of the East (where they barbarously destroyed Tripoli, and Antioch, and several other cities) they scarce did any thing worthy to be recorded in history. The beginning of their empire was in the year of our Lord 1250, and it ended in the year 1517, which was the eighth year of the reign of our King Henry the eighth; so that their empire, in Egypt, lasted 267 years, during which time, they had a succession of above fifty reigns, in which the major part of their kings ascended the throne by the murder or deposition of their predecessors. So base and barbarous a people scarce deserve to be spoken of, and so quick a succession could not allow time enough for any of them to do any great matters. They gloried in having been slaves, and therefore called themselves by a name, which expressed as much; for Mamaluc, in Arabic, signifies a slave; and, for the further expression hereof, it was an usage among them to take the names of all the masters they served, by way of addition to that, which was properly their own †.

* See Dr. *Prideaux's life of Mahomet*, p. 164.

† See *Margat. Hist. of Tamerlane*, Lib. VIII. *in princip.*

BUT what you mistook me to have said of the Mamalucs is true of the East in general; for there are many good histories of the affairs thereof, from the time of Mahomet, in the Arabic and Persian languages. And the many revolutions, that happened there, from the time aforesaid, and the many considerable events, which were produced in the effecting of them, afford sufficient materials for a very good history of those parts, which we here wholly want. For, from the time of Mahomet, there were four large empires erected in the East, in succession one after another, whose transactions deserve recording, as well as those of the Greeks or Romans.

THE first of these empires was that of the Saracens, which in eighty years, extended itself as largely as that of the Romans did in eight hundred; for it took in India, Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, Spain, and all the coast of Africa, westward, as far as the Atlantic Ocean. It began in the year 622, and, after having lasted, under the califfs of Bagdat 314 years, it expired all at once, in the year 936. For, in that year, all the governors of provinces conspiring together, each declared himself sovereign, in his respective government, and left the califf only Bagdat, with the narrow territories of that city, for his support; where he and his successors continued, for several ages after, as sacred persons, being, as it were, the popes of the Mahometan sect.

THE empire of the Saracens, being weakened by this division of its dominions, and, having also suffered many convulsions from the mutual hostilities, which the successors of them that divided it made upon each other, the * Seljukian Turks, from the northern parts of Tartary, taking the advantage thereof, in the year of our Lord, 1037, made a terrible invasion upon it. One part of them, under the leading of Togrul-Beg (whom the Western writers call Tangrolonix) seized on all that lies between the Indus and the Euphrates; and the other part of them, passing farther, under the command of Koslumish, seized the lesser Asia, and there founded the kingdom of Iconium, where his posterity, for several descents, till Aladin, the last of them, dying without issue,

* See Mr. *Petes de lay Croix Hist. Genghiscan*, Book. II. CHAP. I.

Othman, from being his mercenary, became his successor; and, in the year 1300, seized his kingdom, and thereon founded the Turkish empire that is now in being; of which Knowles hath given us a very good history. Togral-Beg, having fixed his empire in Persia and Assyria, and the neighbouring countries, he and his descendents there reigned, for several successions, till they were suppressed by Jingiz-Can, king of the ancient Moguls, who inhabited that part of Tartary, which lies next to the wall of China.

For this mighty prince, having begun his reign in the year of our Lord, 1202, formed the largest empire that ever was in the world, for it contained all China and India, and extended westward, on the side of the north, through all Tartaria, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, as far as the Baltic, the Oder, and the Adriatic; and on the side of the south, as far as the Euphrates, and the Euxine sea; which was more than double the extent of that of Alexander, or of that of the Romans. And, therefore, by reason of the largeness of it, whenever a general council was called, two years were allowed for their meeting, the remote distance of some of the provinces requiring that time for their coming together. This empire continued in the posterity of Jingiz-Can, through twelve descents, till the death of Bahadur-Can, the last of them; when it had the same end with that of the Saracens. For, on the death of that prince, which happened in the year 1335, the governors of provinces, by a general conspiracy, usurped in each of them the sovereignty to themselves, and thereby extinguished this empire all at once; and, we may reasonably expect, that the empire of the Othmans will, some time or other, have the same fate. It hath been several times attempted by some of the Bashaws; but it hath hitherto failed of success, for want of the general concurrence of the rest. One Mr. Petis de la Croix * hath published, in French, the history of Jingiz-Can, with an account of his empire, and the succession of the kings of his race, that governed it after him; in the compiling of which work, he tells us, he employed ten years; so that, it may be hoped, he hath gathered together all the materials that are proper for the same; but whether he has done so, I cannot say, having never seen the book.

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* See *Collier. Append Genghiskan.*

THIRTY-THREE years after the extinction of this empire of the Moguls, there was raised out of its ruins, another empire of the Moguls, who, to distinguish them from the other, are called the latter Moguls. The founder of this empire was the famous Tamerlane, by the Western writers, who, beginning his reign in the year 1368, continued in it thirty-six years, that is, till the year 1404, when he died; during which time he over-run all the Eastern part of the world with prodigious success of victory; whereby he subjugated to him all Tartaria, China, India, Persia, and all else, westward, as far as the Archipelago. At his death, he divided his empire among his sons; the posterity of him that had India for his part of the legacy, still reign there, unless the many revolutions and convulsions of government, which have happened there since the death of Aurang Zeb, have by this time extinguished it. Of this race of the Mogul kings in India, one Seignior Monuchi, a Venetian, who had been physician in the court of Aurang Zeb, for near forty years, hath written a very good history: it is published in French and English; which is very well worth the perusal. He was lately alive at St. Thomas, a town of the Portuguese, within seven miles of our establishment of Fort St. George, in the coast of India.

THE rise and fall of these four empires, and the several remarkable matters and facts transacted in them, while they stood, cannot but afford a very fitting and plentiful subject for an excellent history; and there are sufficient materials for it, in the writings of the East, were they carefully and judiciously put together. As to the authors of this sort, which are in the public library of Oxford, there is a full account given of them in the large catalogue of the MSS. of England printed at Oxford, about twenty-five years since. Among these, are the two famous historians of the East, * Abul-Feda, and Al Jannabias, which are now printing at Oxford, in Arabic and Latin, by Mr. Gagnier, a French gentlemen, well skilled in this kind of learning. But, if my Lord Pembroke (to whom my most humble duty) desires further to be informed of what the East can afford us of this

* See Dr. *Prideaux's Life of Mahomet*—his *Account of Authors*, 4to Edit. p. 153, 160—*Churchill's Collect. of Voyages*, Vol. I. Introduct. LXXIX.

nature, I beg leave to recommend to him Mr. Herbelot's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, a book written in French, some years since; wherein he gives account of all the Eastern writers, that fell within his knowledge, whether historical, philosophical, or of any other subject. Since that, another Bibliotheca of the Eastern writers hath been projected at Rome, which pretends to supply the defects of Herbelot, and gives us an additional account of many other Eastern writers, more than are to be found in that author. It is designed to be in three volumes in folio, of which, the first volume, I hear, is already published.

As to Mr. Jones, whom my Lord Pembroke makes mention of, I do not know the gentleman, neither have I ever heard of him. To make him adequate to it, requires a thorough skill in the Arabic language, which cannot, without long and sedulous application, be attained unto; and it adds to the difficulty, that most of the books, to be made use of in this matter, lie in manuscript, which cannot be easily come at, or easily read. For I know but of three Arabic historians, that are in print, * Elmacinus, Abul-Pharagius, and Eutychius; the first, published by Herpenius, and the other two, by Dr. Pocock: but these are only jejune epitomes, containing no more than the bare bones of the Oriental history: the full substance of it, to make it a perfect body, is to be sought from other books.

THE greatest difficulty, in compiling such an history, would be the reconciling the Arabic and Byzantine writers, who often give us accounts of matters, which are inconsistent with each other: and the same is to be said of the Latin writers, that treat of the holy war, they often giving narratives of it, quite different from the Arabic; for both sides frequently choose to gratify their hatred and bitter aversion against each other, by reason of their different religions, rather than give us the naked truth of the facts they write of. The Arabic writers, it must be confessed, are more exact in their chronology, than the Byzantine, and, in some other particulars, seem to be more impartial, and to come nearer to the truth, than the other.

* See the *Life of Mahomet*, ubi supra, p 153, 164, 165. *Seld.* Tom. II. p. 410.—*Gen. Prief.* xvi.—Vol. I. p. 1069, 1702, 1703, 1884.—*ibid.* 1356, 1703, 1866.

In order to understand the Oriental history, and the writers of it, from the time of Mahomet, a new Oriental geography is necessary; for the names of the countries and cities in the East, which the Romans and Greeks called them by, are now altogether unknown in the East. Abul-Feda is as famous for his geography as for his history: were that printed, with a good version, it would answer the matter: this has been several times attempted, but hitherto, without success.

About one hundred and fifty years after Mahomet, the Saracens, from the Greek books (which, in their several inroads upon the Grecian empire, they had plundered out of the Grecian libraries) having the learning of the Greeks amongst them, and it having flourished there for four hundred years after, the Arabic writers are, from that time, as full of their accounts of their famous scholars, as they are of their famous warriors, and equally record what is remarkable of both. If the history of the East, here proposed to be made, should follow the same method, and equally give us an account of the progress of their learning, as well as of their arms, it would render the work the more acceptable to the learned world.

Thus far have I endeavoured to answer your letter, as well as my shattered head would give me leave to dictate it. It will very much please me, if it prove to your satisfaction; for I am,

Sir,

Your most faithful

Humble servant,

H. PRIDEAUX.

Norwich, Feb. 5. 1721. 2.

THE PREFACE.

THE calamitous distemper of the stone, and the unfortunate management I fell under, after being cut for it, having driven me out of the pulpit, in wholly disabling me for that duty of my profession, that I might not be altogether useless, I undertook this work, hoping, that the clearing of the sacred history by the profane, the connecting of the Old Testament with the New, by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great use to many. What is now published is only the first part of my design. If God gives life, the other will soon after follow; but if it should please him, who is the Disposer of all things, that it happen otherwise, yet this History, being brought down to the times when the canon of the Hebrew scriptures were finished, it may of itself be reckoned a complete work: for it may serve as an epilogue to the Old Testament, in the same manner as what after is to follow, will be a prologue to the New.

Chronology and geography being necessary helps to history, and good chronological tables being most useful for the one, as good maps are for the other; I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding such tables in the conclusion of the work, as may answer this end, but also by digesting the whole into the form of annals under the years before Christ, and the years of the kings that then reigned over Judea; both which are added in the margin at the beginning of every year, in which the actions happened that are related. And as to the latter, since Dr. Wells, Cellarius, and Reland have sufficiently provided for it, both by good maps of the countries this history relates to, and also by accurate descriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. Wells hath done herein, being written in English, will best serve the English reader,

but they that are also skilled in the Latin tongue may moreover consult the other two.

In the annals, I have made use of no other æra, but that of the years before Christ, reckoning it backward from the vulgar æra of Christ's incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of Christ's incarnation, some placing it two years, and some four years, before the vulgar æra. But where the vulgar æra begins, all know that use it; and therefore the reckoning of the years before Christ backward from thence, makes it a fixed and certain æra. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's incarnation, and that of the vulgar æra of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the 527th year of that æra, that it was first brought into use. * Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian by birth, and then a Roman abbot, was the first author of it; and Beda our countryman, taking it from him, used it in all his writings; and the recommendation which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common use among Christians ever since, especially in these western parts. Had all Christians calculated their time by it from the beginning of the church of Christ (as it could be wished they had,) there could then have been no mistake in it. But it being 527 years after Christ's incarnation, before this æra of it was ever used, no wonder, that after so great a distance of time, a mistake was made in the fixing of the first year of it.

The æra from the creation of the world is of very common use in chronology; but this I have rejected, because of the uncertainty of it, most chronologers following different opinions herein, some reckoning the time of the creation sooner, and some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year for it.

The Julian period is indeed a certain measure of time, but its certainty depends upon a reckoning backward, in the same manner as that of the æra before Christ. For it being a period of 7980 Julian years, made out of the three cycles of the sun, moon, and indiction, multiplied into each other; and the first year of it being that in which all these three cycles of the sun, begin together, this first year can be no otherwise fixed, than by computing backward from the present numbers of those

* See Scaliger, Calvisius, and other Chronologers, in those parts of their works, where they write of the vulgar æra of Christ. And see also Du Pin's History of Ecclesiastical writers, cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, p. 405.

cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year, in which the first year of every one of them meet together; which carries up the reckoning several hundred years before the creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore, although from that beginning it computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the present years of those cycles: for, according as they are all must be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the period. So that, although in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a backward computation, to tell us how many years since any thing was done from the present year. For in the numbers of the three cycles of the present year, it hath a real and fixed foundation for an upward reckoning, and so in any other year, in which the said numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore, this being the true and real use of the Julian period, the æra before Christ for the times I treat of, serves all the purposes of chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For, adding the years before Christ, to those since Christ, according to the vulgar æra, it immediately tells us, how many years since any action before the time of Christ was done, and the Julian period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at first sight. However, in the tables I have put the Julian period, and have reduced to it not only the years before Christ, but also the years of the princes reigning in Judea, and the neighbouring countries, and all things else that are treated of in this History; and hereby the Synchronisms, or coincident times and transactions of other nations may easily be known.

The year I compute by in the annals is the Julian year, which begins from the first of January; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, though they were originally reckoned by other forms. The * Greeks, before the time of Meto, began their year from the winter solstice, and after from that of the summer. The Egyptians, Chaldeans, and ancient Persians, reckoned the first of the month Thoth to be always the first day of their year, which, consisting of 365 days, without

* *Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque chronologos, in eis locis ubi de anno Græcorum agunt.*

a leap year, * it begun every fourth year one day sooner than it did before; and so, in the space of 1460 years, its beginning was carried backward through the whole solar year. The Syrians and the Phœnicians begun their year from the autumnal equinox; and so did also the Hebrews, till their coming up out of the land of Egypt. But that happening in the month of Nisan, in commemoration of this deliverance, they afterwards begun their year from † the beginning of that month, which usually happened about the time of the vernal equinox: and this form they ever after made use of in the calculating of the times of their fasts and festivals, and all other ecclesiastical times and concerns; but, in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and such other affairs, which were of a secular nature, they still made use of the old form, and begun their year as formerly, from the first of Tisri, which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox: and from hence they began ‡ all their jubilees and sabbatical years, and all other their computations of civil matters, as they still do the years of the creation of the world, and the years of their æra of contracts; which are the only epochas they now compute past times by. Anciently § the form of the year which they made use of was wholly inartificial: for it was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but was made up of lunar months set out by the phasis or appearance of the moon. When they saw the new moon, then they began their months, which sometimes consisted of 29 days, and sometimes of 30, according as the new moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was, because the synodical course of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon) being 29 days and an half, the half day, which a month of 29 days fell short of, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of 30 days; so that their months consisted of 29 and 30 days alternatively. None of them had fewer than 29 days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon before the night following the 29th day; and, if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the fol-

* So it was in the time of the last Darius; but afterwards the Persians compensated for the loss of the leap year, by adding an intercalary month of 30 days every 13th year.

† Exod. xii. 2.

‡ Levit. xxv. 9, 10.

§ Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashanah, Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh, Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

lowing month. Neither had any of their months more than 30 days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded, that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of these months their common year consisted. But twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, every one of those common years began eleven days sooner than the former; which, in thirty-three years time, would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning (as is now done in Turkey, where this sort of year is in use); for the remedying of which, their usage was sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; whereby they constantly reduced their lunar year, as far as such an intercalation could effect it, to that of the sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the sake of their festivals: for their feast of the passover (the first day of which * was always fixed to the middle of their month Nisan) being to be celebrated by their eating the Paschal lamb, and the offering up of the wave-sheaf, as the first-fruits of their barley-harvest; and their feast of Pentecost, which was † kept the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of Nisan (which was the day in which the wave-sheaf was offered) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave-loaves, as the first fruits of their ‡ wheat-harvest; and their feast of tabernacles, which was always begun § on the fifteenth of Tisri, being fixed to the time ‖ of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth: the passover could not be observed, till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the Pentecost, till the wheat was ripe; nor the feast of tabernacles, till the ingatherings of the

* Exod. xii. 3—20. Lev. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

† Levit. xxiii. 15—17. Deut. xvi. 9.

‡ Here it is to be observed, that in Judea the barley-harvest was before the wheat-harvest, and so it was in Egypt; for the barley was in the ear when the wheat and rye were not grown up, Exod. ix. 31, 32.

§ Lev. xxiii. 34, 39.

‖ Lev. xxiii. 39.

vineyard and oliveyard were over: and therefore these festivals being fixed to these set seasons of the year, the making of the intercalation above-mentioned was necessary, for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. Their rule for the doing of this was*; whenever, according to the course of the common year, the fifteenth day of Nisan (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their Paschal solemnity) happened to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the Paschal solemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other festivals with it: for, according as the Paschal festival was fixed, so were all the rest; that is, the Pentecost fifty days after the second day of the Paschal feast (*i. e.* the 16th of Nisan), on which the wave-sheaf was offered; and the feast of tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said Paschal feast. For as the first day of the Paschal feast was the fifteenth of Nisan (the fourteenth, on the evening of which the solemnity began in the slaying of the Paschal lambs, being but the eve of the passover), so the first day of the feast of tabernacles was on the 15th of Tisri, just six months after. To make this the more clear, let it be observed, that the Hebrew months were as followeth, 1. Nisan, 2. Iyar, 3. Sivan, 4. Tamuz, 5. Ab, 6. Elul, 7. Tisri, 8. Marchesvan, 9. Cisleu, 10. Tebeth, 11. Shebat, 12. Adar. And these twelve made their common year: but in their intercalated years there was another month added after Adar, which they called Veadar, or the second Adar; and then their year consisted of 13 months. Supposing, therefore, their vernal equinox should have been on the 10th of March (whereabout now it is), and that the 15th of Nisan, the first day of their passover, should, in the common course of their year, happen to fall on the 9th of March, the day before the equinox; then, on their foreseeing of this, they intercalated a month, and after their Adar added their Veadar, which sometimes consisted of 29 days, and sometimes of 30, according as it happened; at present we will suppose it to be of 30 days, and then the first of Nisan, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the 23d of February (as otherwise it would), must be carried on 30 days forward to the 25th of March, and their passover to the 8th of April following. But

* Talmud in Rosh Hasshanah. Maimonides in Kiddush. Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the 1st of Nisan must then have happened on the 14th of March, and the first day of the passover on the 28th of the same month; and, the next year after that, the first of Nisan, must for the same reason have happened on the 3d of March, and the first day of the passover on the 17th of March; and, the next year after that, according to this calculation, the first of Nisan would have happened on the 20 of February, and the first day of the passover on the 6th of March following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month Veader must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the first of Nisan, which was the beginning of their year, always was within 15 days before, or 15 days after the vernal equinox, that is, within the compass of 30 days in the whole, sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginnings of all their other months, and all the fasts and feasts observed in them. But this inartificial way of forming their months and years, was in use among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter by those who had the care and ordering of it: for when they became dispersed through all nations, they were forced to make use of cycles and astronomical calculations for the fixing of their new moons and intercalations, and the times of their feasts, fasts, and other observances, that so they might be every way uniform herein. The first cycle they made use of for this purpose * was that of 84 years: by this they fixed their Paschal feast, and by that their whole year besides; and the use hereof the primitive Christians borrowed from them, and, for some of the first centuries, fixed their Easter in every year according to it: but this, after some time, being found to be faulty, Meto's cycle of 19 years † was, after the council of Nice, brought into use by them for this purpose instead of the other; and the Jews, following their example herein, almost about the same time, came into the same usage also; and upon this cycle is founded the present form of their year. The first

* Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paschali Judæorum Cylo.

† *Epistola Ambrosii* 83. *ad episcopus per Æmilian constitutos.* It was by the council of Nice referred to the church of Alexandria, every year to fix the time of Easter, and they did it by Meto's cycle of 19 years.

who began to work it into this shape *, was Rabbi Samuel, rector of the Jewish school at Sora in Mesopotamia: Rabbi Adda, who was a great astronomer, pursued his scheme; and after him Rabbi Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360, brought it to that perfection in which it now is; and being Nasi or prince of their sanhedrim, he gave it the authority of his sanction, and by virtue thereof it hath ever since been observed by them, and they say always is to be observed to the coming of the Messiah. According to this form † there are, within the compass of the said 19 years cycle, seven intercalated years, consisting of 13 months, and 12 common years, consisting of 12 months. The intercalated years are the 3d, the 6th, the 8th, the 11th, the 14th, the 17th, and the 19th of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over, they begin another; and so constantly according to it, fix their new moons (at which all their months begin) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be acknowledged, is very exactly and astronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity that is to be found among that people. They who would thoroughly understand it, may read Maimonides' tract Kiddush Hachodesh, which hath been published in a very good Latin translation by Lewis de Veil, under the title, De Consecratione Calendarum, where they will find it very exactly and perspicuously described.

These having been the forms of the Jewish year, that is, the inartificial form used by the ancients in the land of Canaan, and the artificial and astronomical form now in use among the moderns throughout all their dispersions; according to neither of them can the days of the Jewish months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the Julian year; for, in both of them, the months being lunar, and the intercalations made of one whole lunar month at once, the days of those months, to the full extent of one full lunar month, fell sometimes sooner, and sometimes later in the solar form. Since the Jewish kalender hath been fixed by Rabbi Hillel, upon the certain foundations of astronomy, tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that kalander

* Juchasin; Shalsheleth Haccabala; & Zemach David, & ex iisdem Morinus in exercitat. Prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, cap. 3.

† Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh, & Seldenus de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

every day in the Julian year shall answer: but this cannot be done for the time before; because, while they went inartificially to work in this matter, by the phasis and appearance of the moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly; but often varied from the astronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times of which this History treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any Jewish month mentioned either in the scriptures, or in Josephus, reduce it exactly to its time in the Julian year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compass of a month sooner or later. Kepler indeed holds, that the Jewish year was a solar year, consisting of 12 months, of 30 days each, and an addition of five days after the last of them; and our countrymen Archbishop Usher, and Mr. Lydiat, two of the most eminent chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the same opinion. Such a year, I acknowledge, was in use among the Chaldeans, from whom Abraham was descended; and also among the Egyptians, with whom the Israelites long lived: and I doubt not, but that, before their coming out of the land of Egypt, they also reckoned their time by the same form. For the time of the flood is manifestly computed by it * in the book of Genesis, an hundred and fifty days being their made equal to five months, which proves those months to have been thirty-day months. But that the Israelites made use of this sort of year, after their coming out of Egypt, can never be made consisting with the Mosaical law. According to that, their year must be made up of months purely lunar, and could no otherwise, than by an intercalary month, be reduced to the solar form: and there being a necessity of making this intercalation for the keeping of their festivals to their proper seasons, by this means it comes to pass, that the beginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the Julian kalendar, but they fell always within the compass of 30 days sooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the clearer to the reader, I shall express it in this following scheme, wherein the first column gives the names of the Jewish months, and the second of the Julian months, within the compass of which the said Jewish months set over against them have always sooner or later their beginning and ending;

* Chap. vii. 11. compare with chap. viii. 3, 4.

and this is the nearest view that can be given of the correspondency of the one with the other.

1 Nisan	*March.* / *April.*	5 Ab - -	*July.* / *August.*	9 Cisleu	*November.* / *December.*
2 Jair	*April.* / *May.*	6 Elul -	*August.* / *September.*	10 Tebeth	*December.* / *January.*
3 Sivan	*May.* / *June.*	7 Tizri -	*September.* / *October.*	11 Shebat	*January.* / *February.*
4 Tamuz	*June.* / *July.*	8 Merchesuan	*October.* / *November.*	12 Adar	*February.* / *March.*

The 13th month called Veadar, or the second Adar, answered most the end of our March, it being then only intercalated, or cast in, when the beginning of Nisan would otherwise be carried back into the end of February.

I have, in the series of this History, taken no notice either of the jubilees, or the sabbatical years of the Jews, both because of the uselessness, and also of the uncertainty of them. They are useless, because they help not to the explaining of any thing, either in the holy scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the Babylonish captivity; and it is manifest from scripture, that the sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many ages before it. For the desolation, which happened to the country of Judea, under that captivity, is said, in the second book of Chronicles (chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reason, that the land might enjoy its sabbaths, that is, those sabbatical years of rest, which the Jews, in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter, had deprived it of; and therefore, if we reckon to this desolation only the 52 years, that were from the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, to the end of the Babylonish captivity (in which the land was wholly desolated) this will prove the observing of those sabbatical years to have been neglected for 364 years before that captivity. But, if we add hereto the other 18 years of that captivity, in which it was only in part desolated, and take in the whole 70 years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much higher, even to 490 years before that captivity: and, as to the jubilees, there is no mention made of them any where through the whole scriptures, saving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their sabbatical years, saving only in the same law, and the place in

Chronicles above mentioned. There are indeed two other places of scripture which some understand concerning them, (that is, 2 Kings xix. 29. and Jeremiah xxxiv. 8—10.) But both these passages do better admit of other interpretations: for what is said in the former of these, seems rather to refer to the desolations of the war, and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a sabbatical year; and so Grotius and other learned men understand it. And what is said in the other by Jeremiah, about the release of servants, doth not infer a sabbatical year, nor a jubilee neither: for every Hebrew servant * was to be released in the 7th year of his servitude, though it were neither a jubilee, nor a sabbatical year; and therefore this instance infers neither of them: and those who undertake to interpret the law which enjoins these jubilees and sabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their observance. Some will have the reckoning, both of the sabbatical years and the jubilees, to commence from the first entering of the Israelites into the land of Canaan; and therefore place the first sabbatical year in the 7th year after that entrance, and the first jubilee also according hereto; but others say, that the land was seven years in conquering and dividing, and that the 8th year was the first in which the Israelites began to sow and reap in it; and that therefore the 14th year was the first sabbatical year: and according to this reckoning they put the first sabbatical year, and the first jubilee, seven years later than the former, and so the numbers of all the rest that follow. And then, as to the time of the jubilee, there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the 7th sabbatical year, then there will be two sabbatical years together, (for the year of jubilee was also † a sabbatical year;) and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be supported? And they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the year next after the 7th sabbatical year to have been the year of jubilee, though ‡ they have the scripture on their side in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or Shemittah, as the Jews call it) after that 7th sabbatical year; that is, whether the year of jubilee,

* Exodus xxi. 2.
† Levit. xxv. 11.
‡ Levit. xxv. 10.

or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week or Shemittah. If the jubilee year were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in between the jubilee (which was also a sabbatical year) and the next sabbatical year after; whereas * the scripture saith they were to have six. And if the first year of the next Shemittah were the next year after the jubilee, then the Shemittahs would not always succeed in an exact series immediately one after the other; but after the 7th Shemittah, the year of jubilee would intervene between that and the next; which disagreeth with the opinion of many. However, it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those, who, thinking that the sabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the 7th year after the former, have in that order and series placed them in their chronological computations, without considering, that after every 49th year a jubilee year did intervene between the Shemittah that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act most out of the way in this matter, who would confine Daniel's prophecy of the 70 weeks to so many Shemittahs, as if these 70 weeks fell in exactly with 70 Shemittahs, that is, that the first week began with the first year of a Shemittah or sabbatical week, and ended with a sabbatical year, which was the last of a Shemittah; and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number: and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out sabbatical years to suit their hypothesis, and fix them to times to which they never did belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the 70 weeks to express 70 times 7 years, that is, 490 in the whole, without any relation had either to Shemittahs or sabbatical years. And were it otherwise, the 70 weeks of Daniel, besides the 70 Shemittahs, must have contained 9 years more for the 9 jubilees, which must have happened within the compass of the said 70 Shemittahs, and thereby make the whole number of those weeks to be 499 years; which no one that I know of hath ever yet said. And therefore, since there is nothing certain to be known concerning these sabbatical years and jubilees of the Jews, as to their ancient observance of them, and consequently there can be no use made of them, for the explication either of scripture or history, I have not troubled the reader with them in the

* Lev. xxv. 3.

body of this History; and I wish I have not troubled him too far in saying so much of them here in the Preface.

In the series of this History, having often endeavoured to reduce the sums of money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this present age, whether gold or silver, I think it requisite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be observed, therefore, in order hereto, that, among the ancients, the way of reckoning their money was by talents. So the Hebrews, so the Babylonians, so the Greeks and so the Romans did reckon; and of these talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into minas and drachms, *i. e.* of their talents into minas, and of their minas into drachms. The Hebrews had, besides these, their shekels and half shekels, or bekas, and the Romans their denarii; which last were very near of the same value with the drachms of the Greeks. What was the value of an Hebrew talent appears from Exodus xxxviii. 25, 26; for there 603,550 persons being taxed at an half shekel an head, they must have paid in the whole 301,775 shekels; and that sum is there said to amount to 100 talents, and 1775 shekels over: if, therefore, you deduct the 1775 shekels from the number 301,775, and divide the remaining sum, *i. e.* 300,000 by 100, this will prove each of those talents to contain 3000 shekels. Each of these shekels weighed about three shillings of our money, and 60 of them, * Ezekiel tells us, made a mina, and therefore 50 of those minas made a talent. And as to their drachms, it appears, by the gospel of St. Matthew, that it was the fourth part of a shekel, that is, ninepence of our money: for there (chap. xvii. 24.) the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every Jew (which was † half a shekel) is called Δίδραχμον, (*i. e.* the two drachm piece; and therefore, if an half shekel contained two drachms, a drachm must have been the quarter part of a shekel, and every shekel must have contained four of them: and so Josephus tells us it did; for he ‡ saith, that a shekel contained four Attic drachms; which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments: for according to the weight, the heaviest Attic drachms did not exceed eightpence farthing half farthing of our money, and an Hebrew drachm, as I have said, was ninepence; but what the Attic drachm fell short of the Hebrew in weight might be

* Chap. xlv. 12. † Talmud in Shekalim. ‡ Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all countries (which last the Hebrew drachm could not have,) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the Jews. Allowing, therefore, a drachm, as well Attic as Jewish, as valued in Judea, to be equivalent to ninepence of our money, a beka, or half shekel, will be equal to one shilling and sixpence, a shekel three shillings, a mina nine pounds, and a talent 450 pounds. So was it in the time of Moses and Ezekiel, and so was it the same, in the time of Josephus, among that people; for * he tells us, that an Hebrew mina contained two litras and an half, which comes exactly to nine pounds of our money; for a litra, being the same with a Roman libra, contained 12 ounces Troy weight, that is, 96 drachms, and therefore two litras and an half must contain 240 drachms, which being estimated at ninepence a drachm, according to the Jewish valuation, comes exactly to 60 shekels, or nine pounds of our money. And this account exactly agrees with that of Alexandria; for † the Alexandrian talent contained 12,000 Attic drachms, and 12,000 Attic drachms, according to the Jewish valuation, being 12,000 of our ninepences, they amount to 450 pounds of Sterling money, which is the same value with the Mosaic talent. But here it is to be observed, that, though the Alexandrian talent amounted to 12,000 Attic drachms, yet they themselves reckoned it but at 6000 drachms, because every Alexandrian drachm contained ‡ two Attic drachms; and therefore, the Septuagint version being made by the Alexandrian Jews, they there render the Hebrew word shekel by the Greek Δίδραχμον, which signifieth two drachms; because two Alexandrian drachms make a shekel, two of them amounting to as much as four Attic drachms; and therefore, computing the Alexandrian money according to the same method in which we have computed the Jewish, it will be as followeth: one drachm of Alexandria will be of our money eighteenpence; one didrachm, or shekel, consisting of two drachms of Alexandria, or four of Attica, will be three shillings; one mina, consisting of 60 didrachms, or shekels, will be nine pounds; and one

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

† Festus Pompeius, Dionysius Halicarnasseus etiam dicit, talentum Alexandrinum continere 125 libras Romanas; libræ autem Romanæ 125 continent drachmas Atticas 12,000.

‡ Varro æstimat drachmas Alexandrinas duplo superasse Atticasve Tyriasve.

talent, consisting of 50 minas, will be 450 pounds, which is the talent of * Moses, and so also it is the talent of † Josephus; for he tells us, that an Hebrew talent contained an hundred Greek (*i. e.* Attic) minas; for those 50 minas, which here make an Alexandrian talent, would be 100 Attic minas in the like method of valuation, the Alexandrian talent containing double as much as the Attic talent, both in the whole, and also in all its parts, in whatsoever method both shall be equally distributed. Among the Greeks, the established rule was ‡, that 100 drachms made a mina, and 60 minas a talent; but, in some different states, their drachms being different, accordingly their minas and talents were within the same proportion different also. But the money of Attica was the standard by which all the rest were valued, according as they more or less differed from it; and therefore, it being of most note, wherever any Greek historian speaks of talents, minas, or drachms, if they be simply mentioned, it is always to be understood of talents, minas, or drachms, of Attica, and never of the talents, minas, or drachms, of any other place, unless it be expressed. Mr. Brerewood, going by the goldsmiths weights, § reckons an Attic drachm to be the same with a drachm now in use in their shops, that is, the eighth part of an ounce; and therefore lays it at the value of seven-pence halfpenny of our money, or the eighth part of a crown, which is, or ought to be, an ounce weight. But Dr. Bernard, going more accurately to work, ‖ lays the middle sort of Attic drachms at eightpence farthing of our money, and the minas or talents accordingly in the proportions above-mentioned. The Babylonian talent, according to ¶ Pollux, contained 7000 of those drachms. The Roman talent ** contained 72 Italic minas, which were the same with the Roman libras; and 96 Roman denariuses, each being of the value of sevenpence halfpenny of our money, made a Roman libra. But all the valuations I have hitherto mentioned must be understood only of silver money, and not of gold; for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to silver was among the ancients most commonly

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* Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.
† Antiq. lib. 3. c. 7.
‡ Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. 10. c. 6.
§ In libro de Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum.
‖ In libro de Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis.
¶ Lib. 10. c. 6. p. 437.
** Festus Pompeius.

as ten to one; sometimes it was raised to be as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. In the time of King Edward I. it was here in England at the value of ten to one; but it is now gotten at sixteen to one, and so I value it in all the reductions which I make in this History of ancient sums to the present value. But, to make the whole of this matter the easier to the reader, I will lay all of it before him, for his clear view, in this following table of valuations.

Hebrew Money.	£.	s.	d.
An Hebrew drachm	0	0	9
Two drachms made a beka, or half shekel, which was the tribute money paid by every Jew to the temple	0	1	6
Two bekas made a shekel	0	3	0
Sixty shekels made a mina	9	0	0
Fifty minas made a talent	450	0	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one	7200	0	0
Attic Money, according to Mr. Brerewood.			
An Attic drachm	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
An hundred drachms made a mina	3	2	6
Sixty minas made a talent	187	10	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one	3000	0	0
Attic Money, according to Dr. Bernard.			
An Attic drachm	0	0	$8\frac{1}{4}$
An hundred drachms made a mina	3	8	9
Sixty minas made a talent	206	5	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one	3300	0	0
Babylonish Money, according to Mr. Brerewood.			
A Babylonish talent of silver, containing 7000 Attic drachms	218	15	0
A Babylonish talent in gold, sixteen to one	3500	0	0
Babylonish Money, according to Dr. Bernard.			
A Babylonish talent in silver	240	12	6
A Babylonish talent in gold, sixteen to one	3850	0	0
Alexandrian Money.			
A drachm of Alexandria, containing two Attic drachms, as valued by the Jews	0	1	6
A didrachm of Alexandria, containing two Alexandrian drachms, which was an Hebrew shekel	0	3	0
Sixty didrachms, or Hebrew shekels, made a mina	9	0	0
Fifty minas made a talent	450	0	0
A talent of gold, sixteen to one	7200	0	0

Roman Money.	£.	s.	d.
Four sestertiuses made a Roman denarius - -	0	0	7½
Ninety-six Roman denariuses made an Italic mina, which was the same with a Roman libra - -	3	0	0
Seventy-two Roman libras made a talent	216	0	0

If any desire a fuller account of the money of the ancients, he may read Mr. Berewood *De Ponderibus et Pretiis veterum Nummorum*, Bishop Cumberland of the Jewish Measures, Weights, and Monies, Dr. Bernard *De Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis*, and others that have written of this argument. It sufficeth for my present purpose, that I here insert so much as may serve for a key to those passages in the ensuing History, where any sum of money, or any quantity of gold or silver, is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of Zoroastres by the western writers, whether Greek or Latin, the reader may perchance be surprised to find so much said of him in this History, and his time placed so much later than is vulgarly reckoned. But, how sparingly soever the Greeks or Latins may have been in speaking of him, what hath been wanting in them hath been sufficiently supplied by the Persians and Arabs, who have given us large accounts of him, and have placed his time where truly it was, that is, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia. Whatsoever we find written of him by the Arabs is taken from the Persians; for it was not till after the time of Mahomet that the Arabs had any literature among them; but the Persians had it long before: for we find in scripture *, that the Persians had books and registers, in which all the actions of their kings, and the histories of their reigns, were carefully recorded; and Ctesias † tells us the same, and that it was out of those books and registers that he extracted his history, which he wrote of the Assyrian and Persian affairs ‡ in 23 books; and Persia being the country which was the scene of all Zoroastres' doings, there it is that we may most likely expect the best account of him. And since he was there the founder and great patriarch of the religion which was received and reigned in that country, from the time of Darius Hystaspes, to the death of

* Ezra iv. 15, 19. v. 17. vi. 1, 2. Esther vi. 1.
† Apud Diodorum Siculum, lib. 2.
‡ Photius in Excerptis.

Yazdejerd, for near 1150 years, and consequently was among them (as he still is among the remainder of that sect) in the same esteem and veneration that Mahomet is among the Mahometans, no wonder that much hath been said of him by their writers; and, if those writers have been as ancient as those of the Greeks and other nations, I know not why they should not have the same authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the Roman legends of their saints, and for the same reason, that is, to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to Dr. Hyde's book, *De Religione veterum Persarum*, for I understand not the Persian language. All that could be gotten out of both these sorts of writers, concerning him or his religion, that carries with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together: as also every thing else that is said of either of them, by the Greeks, or any other authentic writers; and, out of all this put together is made up that account which I have given of this famous impostor. And if the life of Mahomet, which I have formerly published, be compared herewith, it will appear hereby how much of the way, which this latter impostor took for the propagating of his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them were very crafty knaves: but Zoroastres being a person of the greatest learning of his time, and the other so wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, though the other hath had the greater success in the propagation of his sect: the Magians scarce having ever enlarged themselves beyond the present bounds of the kingdom of Persia, and some parts of Mesopotamia, Arabia, and India; whereas the Mahometans have overspread a great part of the world; for which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty empires erected by them, that is, that of the Saracens first, and next that of the Turks, who having extended their conquests over many countries and kingdoms, have, by the power of the sword, subjugated the inhabitants to their religion, as well as to their empire.

To make this history the more clear, I have found it necessary to take in within its compass the affairs of all the other eastern nations, as well as those of the Jews, the latter not being thoroughly to be understood without the other: and as far as the Grecian affairs having been complicated with those of Persia, Syria, or Egypt, I have been obliged to take notice of them

also; and, without doing this, I could not lead the reader to so clear a view of the completion of those prophecies of the Old Testament which I have in the ensuing History explained: for how could the completion of the prophecy which we have of Xerxes, and his stirring up of all against the realm of Grecia, (Daniel xi. 2.) be understood, without having an account of the war which he made against Grecia? Or how could the fulfilling of the prophecies which were delivered of Alexander, his swift victories, and his breaking by them the power of Persia, (Dan. vii. 6. viii. 5, 6, 21. x. 20. and xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the reader the whole series of those wars whereby it was effected! Or how could the verification of the prophecies concerning the four successors of Alexander, written by the same prophet (Dan. viii. 8. and xi. 4.) be fully evidenced without giving a thorough narrative of all those transactions and wars, whereby it was brought to pass, that the empire of that great conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief commanders? The instance given in these particulars may serve to satisfy the reader as to all the rest.

To make all things the easier to the English reader, for whom I chiefly design this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any exotic words in the text; and, where I have been forced, in some places to insert Hebrew words, I have chosen for his sake, to do it in English letters. All things else, that may be above a mere English reader, I have referred to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page; and in them I quote every thing in English, where the English reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he cannot are the references and quotations in any other language.

Several have in Latin written, by way of annals, of the times of which I treat, as Torniellus, Salianus, Capellus, and others. But, above all of this kind, are Archbishop Usher's Annals of the Old and New Testament, which is the exactest and most perfect work of chronology that hath been published; to which, I acknowledge, I have been much beholden; and although I have not always concurred with him, yet I have, for the most part, especially in the ordering and settling the years to which I refer the actions that are related: for I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the surest and safest clue I could conduct myself by, through all the intricate labyrinths of ancient times; and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I

saw very good reason to do otherwise. But as to the other annalists I have mentioned, I have found it for the most part loss of time to consult them.

If I have been too large in my explication of the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the Hebrew scriptures, or in any other discourse of like nature, occasionally intermixed in this work, the importance of the subject must be my excuse. For the chief design of this History, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better understanding of the holy scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament, I have thought myself obliged, in the pursuit hereof, to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any ways tend hereto. And if the reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praise, who hath enabled me, under a very calamitous and broken state of health, to finish this first part of my design, and still to go on with my studies, for the completing of the other.

Humphrey Prideaux.

Norwich, Aug. 1. 1715.

PALESTINA
SEU
TERRA SANCTA
MARE MAGNUM
SIVE
MEDITERRANEUM MARE
IMMONITIS

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH,
to the Time of CHRIST.

BOOK I.

THE ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years, being dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, there arose Anno 747. up [a] two empires in its stead; the one founded by Arbaces, governor of Media, and the other by Belesis, governor of Babylon, who were the two principal commanders that headed the conspiracy, whereby the former empire was brought to an end; which they having, on their success, parted among themselves, Belesis had Babylon, Chaldea, and Arabia, and Arbaces all the rest. This happened in the seventh year after the building of Rome, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred and forty-seventh year before Christ, *i. e.* before the beginning of the vulgar æra, by which we now compute the years from his incarnation.

[a] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 1. c. 3.

Arbaces is in scripture called [b] Tiglath-Pileser and [c] Thilgath-Pilneser; in [d] Elian, Thilgamus; and by [e] Castor, Ninus junior. He fixed his royal seat at Nineva, the same place where the former Assyrian kings had their residence, and there he governed his new erected empire nineteen years.

Belesis is the same with Nabonasser, from the beginning of whose reign at Babylon commenceth the famous astronomical æra, from him called the æra of Nabonassar. He is by [f] Nicolas Damascenus called Nanibrus, and in the [g] holy scripture Baladan, being the father of Merodac or Mordac-Empadus, who sent an embassy to King Hezekiah, to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness; which will be hereafter spoken of.

And these two empires God was pleased to raise up to be his instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own people; the first for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Israel, and the other for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Judah; as shall be shewn in the sequel of this history.

In the sixth year of Tiglath-Pileser, [h] Ahaz began to reign over Judah; who being a very wicked and impious prince, God stirred up against him Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, who, confederating together, invaded his land with a great army, and having harrassed it all over, pent him up in Jerusalem, and there besieged him.

An. 742. Ahaz 1.

Their design was, [i] on the taking of that city, to have wholly extirpated the house of David, and to have set up a new king over Judah, the son of Tabeal. Who this person was, is no where said in scripture; but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious Jew, who, having revolted from his master, the king of Judah, excited and stirred up this war against him, out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his throne, and reigning in his stead.

But it being the will of God only to punish Ahaz for his wickedness, and not the whole family of David, for which he had always, for the sake of David, expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief, by blasting the whole design; and therefore he sent the prophet Isaiah unto

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[b] 2 Kings xv. 29. & xxvi. 7, 10.
[c] 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chr. xxviii. 20.
[d] Hist. Animal. lib. xii. c. 21.
[e] Euseb. Chron. p. 46.
[f] In Eclogis Valesii, p. 426, &c.
[g] Isaiah xxxix. 1.
[h] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.
[i] Isaiah vii.

Ahaz, to encourage him valiantly to withstand the enemy in the defence of the city, and to assure him that they should not prevail against him; and for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some ages after.

The first was, that the prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that, before that son should be of age to discern between good and evil, both these kings should be cut off from the land; which accordingly came to pass: For the prophet [f] immediately after taking a wife, before Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived at the age of discerning between good and evil, both these kings were slain; Rezin in the third year of Ahaz, and Pekah the next year after.

The other sign was, that [g] a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called Emmanuel, that is, God with us, the Messias that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our salvation. Which prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding spirits of the house of David; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them, that their house should stand, and continue till this prediction should be accomplished, and the Messias born of their race, in such manner as was hereby foretold.

After this, the two kings, according to the words of the prophet, failing of their design, were forced to raise the siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprise which they had undertaken.

But [h] Ahaz, after this, instead of being reformed by the mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of Israel, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his sons pass through the fire to Molech; the next year after, [i] God brought again upon him the same two confederated kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who, coming

An. 741. Ahaz 2.

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[f] Isaiah viii.
[g] Isaiah vii. 14. Matth. i. 23.
[h] 2 Chron. xxviii. 2—5.
[i] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

with forces better appointed, and councils better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under Rezin, king of Syria, the second under Pekah, king of Israel, and the third under Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his kingdom at the same time. Rezin, in his ravage, having loaded his army with spoils, and taken a vast number of captives, returned with them to Damascus, thinking it his best interest there to secure what he had gotten. Pekah with his army marched directly against Ahaz, who had got together the main strength of his kingdom to oppose this invasion, and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies forces; but at length being encouraged by the departure of Rezin to give them battle, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow Zichri taking the advantage, led his forces to Jerusalem, and took the royal city, where he slew Maaseiah the king's son, and most of the chief governors and great men of the kingdom, whom he found there. And both these armies of Israel, on their return, carried with them vast spoils, and above two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken captive, with intention to have sold them for bond-men and bond-women. But a prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their brethren, whom God had delivered into their hands, the elders of the land, fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the captives to Samaria; whereon they were clothed, and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

And the land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty: For the Edomites and the Philistines, who next bordered on it, the former on the south, and the other on the west, seeing Judah brought thus low, took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and, by ravages and inroads, did all the mischief to the rest that lay in their power.

An. 740. Ahaz 3.

But Ahaz, continuing still hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways, but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the temple of all the gold and silver that was

found therein, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his servant, and pay tribute unto him.

The king of Assyria, having an opportunity hereby offered unto him of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts; where, having slain Rezin in battle, he took Damascus, and reduced all that country under his dominion; and hereby he put an end to the kingdom of the Syrians in Damascus, after it had lasted there for ten generations, that is, from the time of Rezon, the son of Eliadah [k], who first founded it, while Solomon was king over Israel.

After this, Tiglath-Pileser [l] marched against Pekah, and seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and also all the land of Galilee, and then went forward towards Jerusalem, but rather to get more money of Ahaz, than to afford him any real help; for he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the war, either by the Philistines, Edomites, or other enemies, but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which Ahaz cut the vessels of the temple into pieces, and melted them down,) he marched back to Damascus, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him; so that, in reality, he was rather distressed, than any way helped by this alliance, the land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended friend and ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open enemies. And, moreover, two lasting mischiefs followed hereon: For, *1st*, Instead of two petty princes, whom he had before for his neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty king for his borderer, against whom no power of the land was sufficient to make any resistance; and the ill effect hereof both Israel and Judah did afterwards sufficiently feel; for it became at length to both of them the cause of their destruction. *2dly*, From this time the Jews were excluded all their traffic into the Southern sea, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

This they had long carried on through the Red sea, and

[k] 1 Kings xi. 23—25.
[l] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

the straits of Babelmandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west, but also to those of Arabia, Persia, and India, on the east, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King David was the first [m] who began it; for having [n] conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became master of two sea-port towns on the Red sea, Elath and Esion-geber [o], which then belonged to that kingdom; and, seeing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. There are two places mentioned in scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is, Ophir and Tarshish. From the former of these David in his time drew great profit; for the three thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which he is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) to have given to the house of God, seem to be of that gold of Ophir, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence: for what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered nations, and the public revenues of his kingdom, is before mentioned (c. xxiv. 14.) and amounted to [p] a prodigious sum. The three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, which he added, was over and above this, and *out of his own proper goods*, or private estate, which he had besides, what belonged to him as a king. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns, which were made him from this traffic: for the gold alone amounted to [q] above one and twenty millions of our

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[m] Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[n] 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings xi. 15, 16. 1 Chron. xviii. 13.

[o] 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

[p] This sum is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the talents, whereby that sum is reckoned were another sort of talents of a far less value than the Mosaic talents, of which an account is given in the Preface. For what is said to be given by David (1 Chron. xxii. 14—16. & xxix. 3—5.) and contributed by his princes (xxix. 6—8.) toward the building of the temple at Jerusalem, if valued by these talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that temple of solid silver.

[q] For three thousand Hebrew talents of gold, reduced to our money, amount to twenty one millions and six hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

money, besides the seven thousand talents of refined [r] silver, which were included in the same gift. After David [s] Solomon carried on the same traffic to Ophir, and had from thence in one voyage [t] four hundred and fifty talents of gold. And if Solomon got so much in one voyage, well might David have gained the sum above mentioned, in the several voyages which were made thither for him, from the time that he had subdued the land of Edom, to the time of his death, which was at least twenty-five years. But it must be acknowledged, that Solomon much improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his great application to all the business of it. For, not being perplexed and incumbered with such wars as his father David was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore, for the better settling of it, he went [u] in person to Elath and Esion-geber, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both those ports, and the settling of every thing else, which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffic, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts, where the sea, on which those ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose he brought thither from the sea-coasts of Palestine as many as he could get of those who had been there used to the sea, especially of the Tyrians [x], whom his friend and ally Hiram king of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers: and these were the most useful to him in this affair; for they being in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the use of the compass not being then known, the way of navigation was in those times only by coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However this trade succeeded so far, and grew to

[r] 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

[s] 1 Kings ix. 26—28. & x. 11, 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. & 10—21.

[t] 2 Chron. viii. 18. The 450 talents here mentioned amount to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our present Sterling money.

[u] 2 Chron. viii. 17.

[x] 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron viii. 18. & ix. 10, 21.

so high a pitch, under the wise management of Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of these immense riches, which he acquired, and [y] whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom; so that [z] he made silver to be at Jerusalem, as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the division of the kingdom, Edom being of that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on this trade from [a] those two ports, especially from Esiongeber, which they chiefly made use of all the time of Jehosaphat. But he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir in partnership with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it [b] a ridge of rocks, as this fleet was passing out of the port, they were by a sudden gust of wind, which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this confederacy, driven upon those rocks where [c] they were all broken to pieces and lost. And therefore, for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the king's ships was thenceforth removed to Elath, from whence Jehosaphat, the next year after, sent out another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel, and we are told [d] in another place of his sending forth a fleet for Ophir, in which he would not permit Ahaziah to have any partnership with him. This plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by Jehosaphat, the first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the other without it. And thus this affair was carried on from the time of David till the death of Jehosaphat. For till then the land of Edom [e] was all in the hands of the kings of Judah, and was wholly governed by a deputy or viceroy there placed by them. But when Jehoram succeeded Jehosaphat, and God, for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that

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[y] 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22.

[z] 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27.

[a] 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36.

[b] Because of these rocks it had the name of Esiongeber, which signified the back-bone of a man, for these rocks resembled it.

[c] 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.

[d] 1 Kings xxii. 49. [e] 1 Kings xxii. 47.

prince, had withdrawn his protection from him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac [f] did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck, after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several generations, that is, from the time of David till then. For, on Jehoram's having revolted from God [g], the Edomites revolted from him, and having expelled his viceroy, chose them a king of their own, and under his conduct recovered their ancient liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the kings of Judah. And from this time the Jewish traffic through the Red sea had an interruption, till the reign of Uzziah. But he, in the very beginning of his reign, having [h] recovered Elath again to Judah, fortified it anew, and, having driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their old traffic; which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of Ahaz. But then Rezin, king of Damascus, having, in conjunction with Pekah, king of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah to that degree which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize Elath, and, driving [i] out the Jews from thence, planted it with Syrians, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that traffic of the Southern seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped, by having that port. But the next year after Tiglath-Pileser having conquered Rezin and subdued the kingdom of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then belonging to his new conquest, and without having any regard to his friend and ally king Ahaz, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit, which the Jews till then had reaped from this traffic, and transferred it to the Syrians, which became a great diminution of their wealth: for although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of prosperity, as in the time of King Solomon, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them; for it included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red sea. But, after Rezin had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the merchandise that came that way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was carried elsewhere; but at what place the Syrians fixed their principal

[f] Gen. xxvii. 40. [g] 2 Kings viii. 20—22.
[h] 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2. [i] 2 Kings xvi. 6.

mart for it, while it was in their hands, is no where said. But at length we find the whole of this trade ingrossed by the Tyrians, who managing it from the same port, made it, by the way [k] of Rhinocorura (a sea-port town lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine,) centre all at Tyre, and from thence they furnished all the western parts of the world with the wares of Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia, which thus by the way of the Red sea they traded to; and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favour and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they did, by building [l] Berenice, Myos-Hormos, and other ports on the Egyptian or western side of the Red sea (for Elath and Esiongeber lay on the eastern,) and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries, to which the Tyrians raded from Elath, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria [m], which was thereby made the greatest mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after, and all the traffic, which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red sea, and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was found [n], a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English and Dutch. And this is a full account of the East India trade, from the time it was first begun by David and Solomon to our present age.

But though it be by all agreed, that the trade to Ophir and Tarshish was the same that is now in the hands of our East India merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men in what parts of the eastern world these two places lay. Some will have Ophir to have been the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coasts of Africa, a little without the straits of Babelmandel. Others will have it to be the island anciently called Taprobana, now Ceylon; and, for its being an island, they have the authority of Eupolemus (an ancient author quoted by Eusebius) on their side: for speaking of Da-

[k] Strabo, lib. 16.
[l] Strabo, lib. 17.
[m] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 798.
[n] A. D. 1497.

vid, he saith of him, [o] 'That he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia, and from thence sent metal men to the island of Urphe, or Ophir, situated in the Red sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of gold, and the metal men brought it from thence to Judea.' But this being a question no way to be decided but from the scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, 1*st*, That from Elath to Tarshish was a voyage [p] of three years, going and coming: but in what compass of time the voyage to Ophir was completed is not said; and that therefore Tarshish might be somewhere in the East Indies, but Ophir might be any where nearer home within the reach of those seas. 2*dly*, That the commodities brought from Tarshish were [q] "gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks;" and those of Ophir [r] "were gold, and almug trees, and precious stones." And therefore any place in the Southern or great Indian sea, at the distance of a then three years voyage from Elath, which can best furnish the merchants with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, may be guessed to be the Tarshish of the holy scriptures; and any place within the compass of the same Southern sea, that can best furnish them with gold, almug trees, and precious stones, and in that quantity of gold as Solomon brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the Ophir in the said holy scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, that if the southern part of Arabia did furnish the world in those times [s] with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity, as good authors say, they that would have the Ophir of the holy scriptures to be there situated, seem, of all others, to have the best foundation for their conjecture. But more than conjecture no one can have in this matter.

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[o] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[p] 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21.

[q] 1 Kings x. 22.

[r] 1 Kings x. 11.

[s] Agatharcides, (p. 60. edit. Oxon.) tells us, that the Alileans and Cassandrians, in the southern part of Arabia, had gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of gold for iron, triple its weight for brass, and ten times its weight for silver, and that, in digging the earth, they found it in goblets of pure gold, which needed no refining, and that the least of them were as big as olive stones, but others much larger. No other author speaks of any other place in the world where it was ever found in like plenty.

But for the better understanding of what Eupolemus above saith of Ophir, 'that it was an island in the Red sea,' it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the Arabian gulf, which lieth between Arabia and Egypt, and is now commonly called the Red sea; but [t] the great Southern ocean, which, extending itself between India and Africa, washeth up to the coast of Arabia and Persia, where it appearing of a reddish colour, by reason of the fierceness of the sunbeams constantly beating upon it in that hot climate, it was therefore called the Red sea; and this alone was that which was truly and properly called so by the ancients: for the Arabian gulf, which hath now obtained that name, was never for any such redness of it so called; for neither the water (as some will have it) nor the sand (as others say) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the easterns formerly so called. Throughout the whole scripture of the Old Testament [u] it is called Yam Suph, that is, the Weedy Sea, by reason of the great quantity of sea-weed which is therein; and the same name it also hath in the ancient Syriac version, as well as in the Targum or Chaldea paraphrases. But among the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining, it was called Yam Edom, *i. e.* the Sea of Edom: for the sons of Edom having possessed all that country, which, lying between the Red sea and the lake of Sodom, was by the Greeks called Arabia Petrea, they then named it, from their Father Edom, the land of Edom; and because that which we now call the Red sea washed upon it, thence it was called the sea of Edom, or, in the dialect of the Greeks, the Edomean or Idumean sea, in the same manner as that which washeth upon Pamphylia was called the Pamphilian sea, and that which washeth upon Tyrrhenia the Tyrrhenian sea, and so in abundance of other instances. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnecians, finding it by them to be called Yam Edom, instead of rendering it the sea of Edom, or the Idumean sea, as they ought, mistook the word Edom to be an appellative instead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, that is, the Red sea; for Edom, in the language of that country signified red; and it is said in scripture, that Esau [x] having sold his birth-right to his brother

[t] Dionysii Periegesis, 38. & Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeri Geographia, lib. 2. c. 11.

[u] See Exod. x. 19. xiii. 18, &c.

[x] Gen. xxv. 30.

Jacob for a mess of red pottage, he was for that reason called Edom, that is, the Red. And Strabo, [y] Pliny, [z] Mela, [a] and others, [b] say, that this sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great king, called Erythrus, who reigned in the country adjoining upon it; which name Erythrus, signifying the same in Greek that Edom did in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages, that is, the red, this plainly proves, that the great king Erythrus could be none other than Edom, who having planted his posterity in the country, as I have said, [c] from him it was called the land of Edom, or, with a greek termination, Edomea, or Idumea, and from that land the sea which washed upon it was called the sea of Edom; but the Greeks translating Edom as an appellative into the word red, which it signified, instead of rendering it in the same sound, as a proper name; from this mistake it was by them called the Red sea, and that name it hath retained ever since.

But fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary farther to observe, that the Idumea mentioned by Strabo, Josephus, Pliny, Ptolemy and other ancient writers, was not that land of Edom, or Idumea, which gave name to the Red sea, but another ancient Idumea, which was vastly larger than that Idumea which those authors describe; for [d] it included all that land, which was afterwards, from Petrea, the metropolis of it, called Arabia Petrea: for all this was inhabited by the sons of Edom, and from thence it was anciently called the land of Edom, But, [e] on a sedition which arose among them, a party going off from the rest, while the land of Judea lay desolate during the Babylonish captivity, they planted themselves on the south-western part of that country, where they were called Idumeans; and that land alone which they there possessed was the Idumea which those authors mention. Those who remained behind, joining themselves to the Ishmaelites, were, from Nebaioth, or Nabath, the [f] son of Ishmael

[y] Lib. 16. p. 766. [z] Lib. 6. c. 23. [a] Lib. 3. c. 8.

[b] Agatharcides, edit. Ox. p. 5. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. c. 9. & lib. 10. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in Rerum Indicarum libro, p. 579. edid. Blanc.

[c] See Fuller's Miscellanies, lib. 4. c. 20.

[d] That it reached to the Red sea appears from 2 Chron. viii. 17. for Elath and Esiongeber, cities of Edom, were ports on the Red sea.

[e] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760. [f] Gen. xxv. 13.

called Nabathæans, and the country which they possessed Nabathea; and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient Greek and Latin writers.

An 739. Ahaz 4. But to return from whence I have digressed, Ahaz, having gone so far with Tiglath-Pileser, as hath been said, found it necessary for him to overlook all injuries to avoid provoking greater; and therefore, carry on the compliment towards him as if he had really been that friend and protector, which he pretended to be; as soon as he heard that he was returned to Damascus, [g] he went thither to him, to pay him that respect and obeisance, which, after having owned him as his protector and sovereign, he did now as his client and tributary, owe unto him.

While he was at Damascus on this occasion, [h] he saw there an idolatrous altar, of a form which he was much pleased with; whereupon, causing a pattern of it to be taken, he sent it to Urijah, the high-priest, at Jerusalem, to have another there made like unto it; and, on his return, having removed the altar of the Lord out of its place in the temple, ordered this new altar to be set up in its stead; and thenceforth giving himself wholly up to idolatry, [i] instead of the God of Israel, he worshipped the gods of the Syrians, and the gods of the other nations round him, saying that they helped their people, and that therefore he would worship them, that they might help him also. And accordingly, having filled Jerusalem and all Judea with their idols and their altars, he would suffer no other god, but them only, to be worshipped in the land; whereby, having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he caused his temple to be shut up, and utterly suppressed his worship throughout all his kingdom. And this he did with an air and profession of anger and defiance, for that he had not delivered him in his distress, when the Syrians and Israelites came against him, as if it were in his power to revenge himself upon the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to such an extravagant height of folly and madness had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in Jerusalem; and in this he continued, till at length he perished in it, being cut of in the flower of his age, before he had outlived half his days.

Tiglath-Pileser, on his return into Assyria, carried with

[g] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [h] 2 Kings xvi. 10—16.
[i] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22—25.

him great numbers of the people, whom he had taken captive in the kingdom of Damascus, and in the land of Israel. Those of Damascus he planted [k] in Kir, and those of Israel [l] in Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and on the river Gozan in the land of the Medes. Kir was a city in the hither part of Media; but Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan, were farther remote. And herein was accomplished the prophecy of the prophet Amos [m] against Israel, wherein he foretold, in the days of Uzziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, that God would cause them to go into captivity beyond Damascus, that is, unto places beyond where those of Damascus should be carried. St. Stephen [n], quoting this prophecy, renders it beyond Babylon. So the common editions of the Greek Testament have it, and it is certainly true; for what was beyond Kir was also beyond Babylon, for Kir was beyond Babylon: But Wicelius' [o] edition hath Damascus in St. Stephen's speech also, and, no doubt, he had ancient copies which he followed herein.

The planting of the colonies by Tiglath-Pileser in those cities of the Medes plainly proves Media to have been then under the king of Assyria: For, otherwise, what had he to do to plant colonies in that country: And therefore Tiglath-Pileser and Arbaces were not two distinct kings, whereof one had Media, and the other Assyria, as [p] Archbishop Usher supposeth, but must both be the same person expressed under these two distinct names. And [q] Diodorus Siculus positively tells us, that Arbaces had Assyria, as well as Media, for his share in the partition of the former empire; and therefore there is no room for a Tiglath-Pileser, or a Ninus junior, distinct from him, to reign in Assyria during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same person, that was signified by all these different names.

Pekah, by this conquest which the Assyrians made upon him, being stript of so large a part of his kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had before brought King Ahaz. For he had now scarce any thing left, but the city of Samaria, and the territories of the tribe of Ephraim, and the half

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[k] 2 Kings xvi. 9. [l] 1 Chron. v. 26.
[m] Amos v. 26, 27. [n] Acts vii. 43.
[o] See Dr. Mill's Greek Testament, Acts vii. 43.
[p] Annales Veteris Testamenti sub anno Mundi 3257.
[q] Lib. 2.

tribe of Manasseh only; which bringing him into contempt with his people, as well as raising their indignation against him (as is commonly the case of unfortunate princes) Hoshea, the son of Elah, [r] rose up against him, and slew him, after he had reigned in Samaria twenty years; and hereby was fully accomplished that prophecy of Isaiah [s] concerning him, which is above related. After this the elders of the land seem to have taken the government into their hands; for Hoshea had not the kingdom till nine years after, that is, towards the end of the twelfth year of Ahaz.

An. 629. Ahaz 14. In the fourteenth year of Ahaz died Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, after he had reigned [t] nineteen years; and Salmaneser, his son, (who in [u] Tobit is called Enemesser, and in [v] Hosea, Shalmon), reigned in his stead. And, as soon as he was settled in the throne, he came into Syria and Palestine, and there subjected Samaria to his dominion, making Hoshea, the king thereof, to become his vassal, and pay tribute unto him. In this expedition, among other prey which he took and carried away with him, [w] was the golden calf, which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel, and had been there, ever since his time, worshipped by the ten tribes of Israel, that had revolted with him from the house of David. 'The other golden calf, which was at the same time set up by him in Dan, had been taken thence, [x] about ten years before, by Tiglath-Pileser, in the invasion which he then made upon Galilee, in which province that city stood.' And therefore the apostate Israelites, being now deprived of the idols which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to Jerusalem there to worship before him; and Hoshea encouraged them herein. For whereas [y] the kings of Israel had hitherto maintained guards upon the frontiers to hinder all under their subjection from going up to Jerusalem to worship there, Hoshea took away those guards, and gave free liberty to all to worship the Lord their God according to his laws, in that place, which he had chosen; and therefore when Hezekiah invited all Israel, that is, all those of the ten re-

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[r] 2 Kings xv. 30. [s] Isa. vii. 16.
[t] Castor apud Euseb. Chron. p. 46.
[u] Chap. i. 2. [v] Chap. x. 14.
[w] Seder Olam Rabba, c. xxii.
[x] 2 Kings xvii.
[y] Seder Olam Rabba, c. 22.

volted tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his passover, Hoshea hindered them not, [z] but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his subjects, who were at that festival, did, on their return, out of their zeal for the true worship of their God, [a] break in pieces the images, cut down the groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroy all other monuments of idolatry, throughout the whole kingdom of Samaria, as will be hereafter related, Hoshea forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being king, without his encouraging it, and giving his authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to religion, the best character given him in scripture of all that reigned before him over Israel from the division of the kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him, [b] That "he did evil in the sight of the Lord," yet it is subjoined, in the next words, "but not so as the kings of Israel which were before him." By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God, than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that kingdom. However, still he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his master to reign in his stead.

Ahaz, in the 16th year of his reign, being smitten of God for his iniquities, [c] died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the city of David, but not with a royal burial, in the sepulchres of the kings. For, from this honour he was excluded, because of his wicked reign, as were Jehoram and Joash before him, and Manasseh and Ammon after him, for the same reason; it being the usage of the Jews to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them. An. 727. Ahaz 16. Hezek. 1.

After Ahaz, reigned [d] Hezekiah his son, a very worthy and religious prince. He had, in the last year of his father's reign, been admitted a partner with him in the kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed under the sickness of which he died.) However, as long as his father lived he could make no alteration in that evil course of affairs,

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[z] 2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18. [a] 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.
[b] 2 Chron. xxvii. 2. [c] 2 Kings xvi. 20. 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.
[d] 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

which he had put both church and state into. But, as soon as he was dead, and Hezekiah had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough reformation on both.

The first thing which he did, was, to open the house of God, which his father had impiously shut up, and restore the true worship therein; in order whereto he called the priests and Levites together, out of all parts of the land, to attend their duty in the temple, ordering them to remove his father's new altar, and to restore the altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the temple of all other pollutions, with which it had been profaned, during the reign of his father. But it not being, till the end of the former year, that Ahaz died, the beginning of the first month of the ensuing year, (which is called Nisan, and corresponds partly with March, and partly with April, in our kalendar,) was the soonest that they could be employed in this work; so that it not being completed till the 16th day of that month, the passover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said month of Nisan.

An. 726. Hezek. 2.

However, the house of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, Hezekiah went up thither on the 17th day of that month, with the rulers and great men of his kingdom, where, the people being gathered together, he offered sin-offerings for the kingdom, and the sanctuary, and for Judah, to make atonement to God for them, and for all Israel; and after that he offered peace-offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times, that had been before him; and there was great joy among all the good people of the land thereon.

And seeing the passover could not be kept on the regular time this year, because neither the temple, nor the priests, nor the people, were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case [e] the law of Moses allowed a second passover to be kept from the 14th day of the second month; King Hezekiah having taken counsel hereon with the chief priests, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, [f] decreed, that this second passover should be kept by all the congregation of Israel, instead of the first; and accordingly he sent

[e] Numb. ix. 10, 11.

[f] 2 Chron. xxx.

messengers to carry notice hereof, not only through all Judah; but also through all the other tribes of Israel, and to invite all that were of Israel, to come to it. And accordingly, on the day appointed, there was at Jerusalem a very great concourse of people from all parts met together to solemnize the holy festival, and that as well from those tribes that had separated from the house of David, as from those who had stuck to it; for although many of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the rest of those tribes, laughed at Hezekiah's messengers, when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt which through long disusage they had contracted of it; yet a great multitude, even from those parts, came to it, and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest passover that had been solemnized at Jerusalem since the days of King Solomon. And, because they had long neglected the observance of this solemn festival, to make some amends for it, they now doubled the time of its continuance; for, whereas the law directs it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen, with much joy and gladness of heart; and, resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of Israel only, as soon as the solemnity was ended, they went out into all the coasts of Judah and Benjamin, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves and threw down the high places and the altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of idolatry which were any where to be found, either in Jerusalem, Judea, or any of the coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other tribes, on their return home, did the same in all the rest of Israel; so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the land, and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto, had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

And the brazen serpent, which Moses had set up in the wilderness, having been by many, in the preceding times of iniquity, made the object of idolatrous worship [g], Hezekiah caused this also to be destroyed; whereas, otherwise it might have served as well as the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous mercy of God, shewn to his people on their coming out of Egypt, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved.

But, notwithstanding, it is thus positively said in the holy scripture, that the brazen serpent was destroyed by Hezekiah

[g] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

in the manner as I have related; yet the impudence of the Romanists is such [h], that in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, they now keep and shew to their Devoto's a brazen serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that Moses did set up in the wilderness; and upon this belief, an idolatrous devotion is there paid to it, as gross as was that of the Jews, for which Hezekiah caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that, among their learned men, there are those who acknowledge the cheat, and disclaim it.

About the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah [i], Sabacon, the Ethiopian, having invaded Egypt, and taken Boccharis, the king of that country, prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his kingdom, reigned there in his stead. This is the same, who in scripture is called [j] So. And he having thus settled himself in Egypt, and after some time grown very potent there, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the yoke of Assyria; and, in confidence hereof, he withdrew his subjection from Salmaneser, and would pay him no more tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as he had formerly used every year to do. Whereon [k] Salmaneser, in the beginning of the fourth year of Hezekiah, marched with an army against him, and having subdued all the country round, pent him up in Samaria, and there besieged him three years; at the end of which he took the city, and thereon putting Hoshea in chains, he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the people into captivity, placing them in Halah, and in Habor, and in the other cities of the Medes, where Tiglath-Pileser had before placed those whom he had carried into captivity out of the same land.

An. 724. Hezek. 4.

An. 721. Hezek. 7.

In this captivity [l], Tobit, being taken out of his city of Thisbe, in the tribe of Naphtali, was, with Anna his wife, and Tobias his son, carried into Assyria, where he became

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[h] Vid. Sigoni historiam de regno Italiæ, lib. 7. Torniellum in Analibus sub. A. M. 3315. tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfii historiam serpentis ænei. cap. 6. &c.

[i] Herodot. lib. 2, African. apud Cyncellum, p. 74. Euseb. in Chronic.

[j] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

[k] 2 Kings xviii.

[l] Tobit, chap. i.

purveyer to King Salmaneser. But the rest of his brethren were carried into Media, as is above said, and planted there, as particularly were Gabael in Rages, and Raguel in Ecbatana, which proves Media to have been still under the king of Assyria, and that there was no king in Media in those days distinct from the king of Assyria.

There is, in the 15th and 16th chapters of Isaiah, a very terrible prophecy against Moab, bearing date in the first year of Hezekiah; wherein it was foretold, that within three years Arhe and Kir-Harasheth, the two principal cities of that country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin, and desolation; which must have been executed the same year that Samaria was first besieged. It seemeth most likely, that Salmaneser, to secure himself from any disturbance on that side, first invaded Moab; and, having destroyed these two cities, brought all the rest of that country under his subjection, and placed garrisons therein, sufficient to put a stop to all incursions of the Arabs, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that siege; for, otherwise, he could not have been able to carry it on with success.

In the same year that Samaria was taken, [m] Mardoc-Empadus began his reign at Babylon. He was the son of Belesis, or Baladin, or Nabonassar (for by all these names was he called,) and was the same [n], who in scripture is called Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan. But, after the death of his father, several other princes had succeeded in Babylon before the crown came to him. For [o] Nabonassar dying when he had sat in the throne fourteen years, after him reigned Nadeus two years; and after him Chinzerus and Porus jointly five years; and then after them Jugæus five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their names in the canon of Ptolemy, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After Jugæus succeeded Mardoc-Empadus, in the 27th year after the beginning of his father's kingdom in Babylon, and reigned twelve years.

While Salmaneser was engaged in the siege of Samaria, Hezekiah took the opportunity of recovering what had been lost from his kingdom in the reign of his father. And therefore [p], making war upon the Philistines, he not only regained all the cities of Judah, which they had seized during the

[m] Canon Ptolemæi. [n] Isa. xxxix. 1. [o] Canon Ptolemæi.
[p] 2 Kings xviii. 8. Josephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13.

time that Pekah and Rezin distressed the land, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own country, excepting Gaza and Gath.

As soon as the siege of Samaria was over, Salmaneser sent to Hezekiah to demand the tribute, which Ahaz had agreed to pay for the kingdom of Judea, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser, his father; but [q] Hezekiah trusting in the Lord his God, would not hearken unto him; neither did he pay him any tribute, or send any presents unto him; which would immediately have brought Salmaneser upon him with all his power, but that he was diverted by another war.

An. 720. Hezek. 8.

For [r] Elulæus, king of Tyre, seeing the Philistines brought low by the war which Hezekiah had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing Gath again under his obedience, which had sometime before revolted from him, Whereupon the Gittites, applying themselves to Salmaneser, engaged them in their cause; so that he marched with his whole army against the Tyrians. Whereon Sidon, Ace, (afterwards called Ptolemais, and now Acon,) and the other maritime towns of Phœnicia, which till then had been subject to the Tyrians, revolted from them, and submitted to Salmaneser. But the Tyrians, having, in a sea-fight, with twelve ships, only, beaten the Assyrian and Phœnician fleets both joined together, which consisted of sixty ships, this gave them such a reputation in naval affairs, and made their name so terrible in this sort of war, that Salmaneser would not venture to cope with them any more at sea; but turning the war into a siege, left an army to block up the city, and returned into Assyria. The forces which he left there much distressed the place, by stopping their aqueducts, and cutting off all the conveyances of water to them. To relieve themselves in this exigency, they digged wells, from whence they drew up the water, and by the help of them held out five years; at the end of which Salmaneser dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that prophecy against them in the 23d chapter of Isaiah, which foretold the miserable overthrow, that should afterwards hap-

An. 715. Hezek. 13.

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[q] 2 Kings xviii. 7.

[r] Annales Menandri apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. et contra Appionem, lib. 1.

pen unto them; and was accordingly effected by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, as will be hereafter shewn.

In the ninth year of Hezekiah, died Sabacon, or So, king of Egypt, after he had reigned in that country, [s] eight years and Sevechus [t], his son, whom Herodous [u] calleth Sethon, reigned in his stead,

Salmaneser, king of Assyria, being dead, after he had reigned fourteen years, Sennacherib [v], his son succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about eight years. An. 714. Hezek. 14. He is the same whom the prophet Isaiah (c. xx. 1.) called Sargon. As soon as he was settled in the throne, he renewed the demand, which his father had made upon Hezekiah for the tribute, which Ahaz had agreed to pay in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, his grandfather; and, [w] on his refusal to comply with him herein, denounced war against him, and marched with a great army into Judea to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Hezekiah.

In the same year, [x] Hezekiah, falling sick of the pestilence, had a message from God, by the prophet Isaiah, to set his house in order, and prepare for death; but on his hearty prayer to God, he obtained another message from him, by the same prophet, which promised him life for fifteen years, longer, and also deliverance from the Assyrians, who were then coming against him; and to give him thorough assurance hereof, by a miraculous sign, God did, at his request, make the sun go backward, ten degrees upon the sun-dial of Ahaz. And, accordingly, a lump of figs having been, by the prophet's direction, made into a plaster, and laid to the pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the house of God, to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

Merodach-Baladen, king of Babylon (the same who in Ptolemy's canon is called Mardoc-Empadus) hearing of this miraculous recovery, [y] sent ambassadors unto him, to congratulate him hereon; which Hezekiah was much pleased with. Their coming on this occasion, seem- An. 715. Hezek. 15.

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[s] Africanus apud Syncellum. p. 74.
[t] Africanus, p. 74. [u] Africanus, lib. 2.
[v] Tobit. i. 15.
[w] 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. Is. xxxvi.
[x] 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24. Is. xxxviii.
[y] 2 Kings xx. Is. xxxix.

eth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to inquire about the miracle of the sun's retrogradation, (for the Chaldeans, being above all other nations then given to the study of astronomy, were very curious in their inquiries after such matters;) and the other, to enter into an alliance with him against Sennacherib, whose growing power the Babylonians had reason to fear, as well as the Jews. And to make the Babylonians put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason, that Hezekiah shewed those ambassadors from them all the riches of his house, his treasures, his armoury, and all his stores and strength for war. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him, by the prophet Isaiah, a rebuking message for it, and also a prophecy of what the Babylonians should afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride, with which his heart was then elated.

Towards the end of the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, [z] Sennacherib came up with a great army against the fenced cities of Judah, and took several of them, and laid siege to Lachish, threatening Jerusalem itself next. Whereon Hezekiah, taking advice of his princes and chief counsellors, made all manner of preparations for its defence; repairing the walls, and making new ones, where they were wanting, and fortifying them with towers, and all other works and buildings, necessary for their defence. And he provided also darts and shields in great abundance, and all other arms and artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be inrolled and marshalled for the war, that were fit and able for it; placing over them captains of experience, to instruct them in all military exercises, and to conduct and lead them forth against the enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the wells, that were without the walls of Jerusalem, for a great compass round the city, and diverted all brooks and water-courses from coming that way; thereby to distress the enemy for want of water, should they come and set down before that place. And farther, to strengthen himself the more, against so potent and formidable an enemy, he entered into alliance with the king of Egypt for their mutual defence. But [a] the prophet Isaiah

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[z] 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. Isa. xxxvi. [a] Isa. xxx, xxxi.

condemned this alliance, as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the Jews, that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for Mount Zion, and deliver and preserve Jerusalem from the power of the enemy, that was then risen up against it: and that whatsoever trust they should place in Egypt, should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion; and so in the event it accordingly happened.

However, Sennacherib, being informed of all these preparations, which Hezekiah had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a city, when so well appointed, and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation; and therefore, on Hezekiah's sending to treat with him, it was agreed, that Hezekiah paying unto him [b] three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold for the present, and duly rendering his tribute for the future, there should be peace. But when Sennacherib had received the money, he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war as will be hereafter shown. However, for the present, he gave him some respite, and marched against Egypt; and, the better to open his way, into that country, [c] he sent Tartan, one of his generals before him to take Ashdod, or Azotus: from the taking of which place, the prophet Isaiah dates the beginning of the war which Sennacherib had with the Egyptians; wherein, according as that prophet [d] had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying their cities, and carrying multitudes of them into captivity. At that time Sevechus, the son of Sabacon, or So, the Ethiopian, was king, of Egypt, whom Herodotus [e] calls Sethon, and represents him as a prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring

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[b] An Hebrew talent, according to the scripture, Exod. xxxviii. 25—27. containing 3000 shekels, and every shekel being 3 shillings of our money, these 300 talents of silver must contain of our money, one hundred thirty-five thousand pounds, and the 30 talents of gold, two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds. So the whole sum here paid by Hezekiah amounted to three hundred fifty-one thousand pounds of our money.

[c] Is. xx. 1.

[d] Is. xx. 3, 4. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1, 2.

[e] Herod. lib. 2.

such a calamity upon his kingdom, whensoever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For, affecting the office of a priest, he neglected that of a king, and causing himself to be consecrated chief pontiff of Vulcan, gave himself wholly up to superstition; and, having no regard to the warlike defence of his kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the military order which was there maintained for it, that he took from them their tenures, which, in the time of the former kings, his predecessors, had been allowed them for their support; which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him, that when he had need for their valour on this occasion they would not fight for him; whereon he was forced to raise an army of such raw and unexperienced men as he could get out of the shopkeepers, tradesmen, labourers, and such like people; which being wholly unable to cope with such an army of veterans as Sennacherib brought against them, he did with great ease over-run the country, and work what devastation in it he pleased. And at this time seems to have been brought upon No-Amon a famous city in Egypt, that destruction which the prophet Nahum speaks of (ch. iii. 10.) where he tells us that her inhabitants were carried into captivity, her young children dashed in pieces in the top of her streets, and her great men divided by lot among the conquerors, and put into chains, to be led away as slaves and captives. All which, he tells us, happened, while Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength, which plainly points out unto us this time, when an Ethiopian prince reigned over Egypt. Sabacon, or So, the father of Sevechus, was an Ethiopian, who made himself king of Egypt by conquest; and therefore, during his and his son's reign, Egypt and Ethiopia were as one country, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this war.

No-Amon in Egypt was [f] the same with Thebes, famous for its hundred gates, and vast number of inhabitants. The Greeks called it Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, because of a famous temple built there to Jupiter; and for the same reason was it called No-Amon by the Egyptians, for Amon was the name of Jupiter among that people.

It is to be observed, that the destruction of No-Amon, mentioned in Nahum, must have been sometime before that of Nineveh; for the former is historically related by him as

[f] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. part 1. lib. 1. c. 1.

past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come; and therefore Nineveh, having been destroyed in the 29th year of Josiah, as will hereafter be shewn, this destruction of No-Amon must have been long before, and in no time more likely than when Sennacherib made this war upon Egypt, and harassed it from one end to the other, for three years together. They who refer this destruction of No-Amon, spoken of by Nahum, to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, place it after the destruction of Nineveh, and thereby make one part of the text inconsistent with the other.

But Sennacherib did not end this war with the same success as he begun it; for, [g] having laid siege to Pelusium, and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of Egypt, because of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia: for he being come into Egypt with a great army to help Sevechus, his kinsman, was on a full march towards Pelusium, to relieve the place, which Sennacherib hearing of, durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege, and returning into Judea, encamped again at [h] Lachish, where he renewed the war with Hezekiah, notwithstanding the agreement of peace which he had before made with him; and, to let him know as much, he sent Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, three of his principal captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited [i] in two places of the holy scripture. It was delivered to the king's officers, from under the walls of Jerusalem, in the hearing of all the people, and in the Hebrew tongue: for they hoped thereby to draw the people to a revolt; but they, failing of success herein, returned to Sennacherib without their design. The person appointed to deliver this message was Rabshakeh, who, by his ready speaking of the Hebrew tongue, seems to have been an apostate Jew, or else one of the captivity of Israel. By office he was the king's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found Sennacherib decamped from Lachish, and laying siege at Libnah; where, hearing that Tirhakah, on his finding him gone from Pelusium, was marching after him, as in pursuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great over-

An. 710. Hezek. 18.

[g] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.

[h] 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, &c. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, 10, &c. Isaiah xxxvi.

[i] 2 Kings xviii. 19, 20, &c. Is. xxxvi. 4, 5, &c.

throw; for it was [k] from God, by the prophet Isaiah before, laid as a burden upon Egypt, and as a burden upon Ethiopia, thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's executioner herein. But, before [l] he went forth to this last war, he sent again to Hezekiah, adding a most blasphemous letter to his former message, defying therein, both him, and also the Lord his God, in a most impious manner; which justly provoked the wrath of God against him, to that degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him, to the cutting off of almost all his army: for when, swelling with his fresh victory over the Ethiopians, he was on his full march towards Jerusalem, with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place, and all in it, an angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night, smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand men; so that, when he arose in the morning, he found almost all his army dead corpses; with which being terrified, he fled out of Judea in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to Nineveh, where he dwelt all the remainder of his life in dishonour, shame, and regret. This happened in the 18th year of King Hezekiah, and four years after Sennacherib first came into those parts. After this, Hezekiah reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the nations round him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him: so that none of them, after this, would any more lift up their hand against him.

The Babylonish Talmud hath it, that this destruction upon the army of the Assyrians was executed by lightning; and some of the Targums are quoted for saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind which [m] is frequent in those parts, and often, when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast caravans of Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages

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[k] Is. xviii. and xx.

[l] Is. xxxvii. 2 Kings xix. 2 Chron. xxxii.

[m] Thevenot's Travels, part 2. book 1. c. 20. & p. 2. b. 2. c. 16. & p. 1. b. 2. c. 20. This wind is by the prophet Jeremiah, c. li. 1. called "A destroying wind," where the Arabic version renders it, "An hot pestilential wind."

to Mecca. And the words of [n] Isaiah, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast, that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

Herodotus [o] gives us, from the relation of the Egyptian priests, some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethon, the Egyptian king, instead of Hezekiah; by whose piety he saith it was obtained that, while the king of Assyria laid siege to Pelusium, a great number of rats were miraculously sent into his army, which in one night did eat all their shield-straps, quivers, and bow-strings; so that, on their rising the next morning, finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raise the siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria, to whom he saith this happened, by the same name of Sennacherib, as the scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree: which plainly shews, that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may easily be accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either.

After this terrible blow, and the loss of so great an army, Sennacherib was so weakened, that he had no way of again recovering himself; which making him to fall into contempt among his subjects, several of his provinces revolted from him, and particularly Media, which was the largest and the most considerable of all his empire. An. 709. Hezek. 12.

For the Medes, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to Nineveh, immediately shook off his yoke, and set [p] up for themselves, in a sort of democratical government; but soon growing sick of the confusions which this caused among them, they were forced to have recourse to monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after chose Deioces for their king, whom they had formerly made great use of as a common arbitrator of their differences, and, for the great proof which he had given of his justice and abilities on such occasions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the 19th year of King Hezekiah; and

[n] Is. xxxvii. 7. 2 Kings xix. 7. [o] Lib. 1.
[p] Herodotus, lib. 1.

having repaired, beautified, and enlarged, the city of Ecbatana, he made it the royal seat of his kingdom, and reigned there with great wisdom, honour, and prosperity, 53 years; during which time, it growing to be a great city, he is for this reason reckoned by the Greeks to have been the founder of it.

The same year [q] Arkianus began his reign at Babylon, after the decease of Mardoch-Empadus, or Merodach-Baladan, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the Babylonians twelve years.

Sennacherib, after his return to Nineveh, being inflamed with rage for his great loss and disappointment, as if he would revenge himself upon his subjects for it, grew thenceforth [r] very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his government, especially towards the Jews and Israelites, abundance of whom he caused every day to be slain and cast into the streets: by which savage humour having made himself so intolerable, that he could be no longer borne by his own family, his two eldest sons, [s] Adramelech and Sharazer, conspired against him, and falling upon him while he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, they there slew him with the sword; and thereon having made their escape into the land of Armenia, Esarhaddon, his third son, reigned in his stead. Some commentators [t] will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two sons to appease his gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the restoration of his affairs, and that it was to prevent this that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce any thing else can be thought of which can afford any excuse for so wicked and barbarous a parricide.

Esarhaddon began his reign over Assyria, about the 22d year of King Hezekiah, which was the last of the reign of Sevechus, or Sethon, in the kingdom of Egypt; who dying, after he had reigned fourteen years, [u] was succeeded by Tirhakah, the same who came with the Ethiopian army to his help. He was the third and last of that race that reigned in Egypt.

An. 706. Hezek. 22.

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[q] Cant. Ptol.

[r] Tobit i. 18.

[s] 2 Kings xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Is. xxxvii. 38.

[t] Bishop Patrick on 2 Kings xix. 37. Sulianus sub anno ante Christum 729.

[u] Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74.

In the 23d year of Hezekiah, Arkianus dying without issue, there followed an [x] interregnum of two years, in the kingdom of Babylon, before they could agree upon a successor. At length [x] Belibus, being advanced to the throne, sat in it three years. After him succeeded [x] Apronadius, and reigned six years. An. 705. Hezek. 23.

The same year that Apronadius began his reign at Babylon, Hezekiah ended his at Jerusalem: for [y] he died there, after he had reigned twenty and nine years; and all Judah and Jerusalem did him honour at his death; for they buried him, with great solemnity, in the chiefest and highest place of the sepulchres of the sons of David, expressing thereby, that they looked on him as the worthiest and best of all that had reigned over them of that family, since him that was the first founder of it. An. 699. Hezek. 29.

The burial-place, called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David (which hath been before spoken of) was a very sumptuous and stately thing [z]. It lies now within the walls of Jerusalem, but, as is supposed, was formerly [a] within them, before that city was destroyed by the Romans. It consists of a large court of about 120 feet square, with a gallery, or cloyster, on the left hand, which court and gallery, with the pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall, of about twenty-four feet square, within which there are several lesser rooms one within another; with stone doors opening into them; all which rooms, with the great room, were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost, or chiefest of these rooms,

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[x] Ptol. Can.

[y] 2 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

[z] Thevenot's Travels, part. 1. book 2. c. 40. Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 76.

[a] Maimonides in his tract, Beth Habbechirah, c. 7. saith, in Jerusalem, they do not allow a sepulchre, except the sepulchres of the house of David, and the sepulchre of Huldah, the prophetess, which were there from the days of the former prophets. *This proves these sepulchres to have been within the walls of Jerusalem, and that the words of scripture which place them in the city of David are strictly to be understood.*

was the body of Hezekiah laid in a nich, perchance cut on purpose at that time for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour; and all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of King Solomon, for it could not have been made without vast expence; and it is the only true remainder of old Jerusalem which is now to be seen in that place.

Hezekiah, during his reign, much improved the city of Jerusalem, not only [b] by new fortifying of it, erecting magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of armoury, which were of use in those days, but also by building [c] a new aqeduct, which was of great convenience to the inhabitants for the supplying of them with water: and, for the [d] better promoting of religion, he maintained skilful scribes to collate together and write out copies of the holy scripture; and it is particularly mentioned, that the Proverbs of Solomon were thus collected together and wrote out by those men.

And in his time the [e] Simeonites, being straitened in their habitations, much enlarged their borders toward the south: for falling on the Amalekites, who dwelt in part of Mount Seir, and in the rich valley adjoining, they smote them, and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

But it was the misfortune of this good king Hezekiah to be succeeded by a son who was the wickedest and worst of the whole race: for after him reigned [f] Manasseh, who being a minor only 12 years old, at his coming to the crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the nobility for his guardians and chief ministers, who being ill affected to his father's reformation, took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to religion and government; so that, when he grew up, he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical and wicked towards his subjects, of any that had ever reigned, either in Jerusalem or Samaria, over the tribes of Israel; for he not only restored all the idolatry of Ahaz, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby

An. 698. Manas. 1.

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[b] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17.
[c] 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17.
[d] Prov. xxv. 1.
[e] 1 Chron. iv. 39—13.
[f] 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii.

the true worship of God might be suppressed, and his most holy name dishonoured in the land; for whereas Ahaz did only shut up the house of God, he converted it into a house of all manner of idolatrous profanation, setting up an image in the sanctuary, and erecting altars for Baalim, and all the host of heaven, in both its courts; and he also practised witchcrafts, and inchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits, and made his children pass through the fire to Molech, and filled Judah and Jerusalem with his high places, idols, groves, and altars erected to false gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous profanations, whereby the true religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of impiety be most promoted, in the kingdom: and, to all these ways of abomination, he made Judah and Jerusalem to conform, raising a terrible persecution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole land with innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his prophets to him, to tell him of these his iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and several [g] of them he put to death; and, particularly, it is said, that Isaiah the prophet, on this account, suffered martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was [h] an old tradition among the Jews; and the holy apostle, St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews (c. xi. 37.) having among the torments undergone by the prophets and martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being sawn asunder, he [i] is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto. By which horrid iniquities and abominations, God was so justly incensed against the land, that he declared hereon, [k] that he would stretch out over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab, and wipe Jerusalem clean of all its inhabitants, as a man wipeth a dish, and turneth it when empty upside down. Which, accordingly, was executed upon it, in the destruction of that

[g] Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4.

[h] Talmud. Hierosol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 28. col. 3. Talm. Babylon. in Jevammoth, fol. 49. col. 2. et in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shaleshelleth Hakkabbalah, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut Lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4.

[i] Vid Justin. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in Esaiam, c. 20. & 57. Epiphanium, et alios.

[k] 2 Kings xxi. 13.

city, and the desolation which was brought upon all Judah at the same time. And among all the iniquities that drew down these heavy judgments upon that city and land, the sins of Manasseh are always reckoned as [l] the most provoking cause; by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

In the fifth year of Manasseh died [m] Apronadius, king of Babylon, and was succeeded by [m] Regibilus, who reigned only one year. After him, Mesessimordacus had the kingdom, and held it four years.

An. 694. Manas. 5.

In the 11th year of Manasseh [n] died Tirhakah, king of Egypt, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the last of the Ethiopian kings that reigned in that country. The Egyptians, after his death, not being able to agree about the succession, continued for [o] two years together in a state of anarchy and great confusion till [p] at length, twelve of the principal nobility conspiring together, seized the kingdom, and, dividing it among themselves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years.

An. 688. Manas. 11.

The same year that this happened in Egypt, by the death of Tirhakah, the like happened in Babylon, by the death of Mesessimordacus. For, he leaving no son behind him to inherit the kingdom, [q] an interregnum of anarchy and confusion followed there, for eight years together; of which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, taking the advantage, seized Babylon; and adding it to his former empire, thenceforth reigned over [r] both for thirteen years. He is in the canon of Ptolemy, called Assar-Adinus. And in the scriptures he is spoken of as king of [s] Babylon

An. 680. Manas. 19.

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[l] 2 Kings xxiii. 26. & xxiv. 3. Jer. xv. 4.

[m] Canon. Ptolemæi.

[n] Africanus apud Syncellum. p. 74.

[o] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

[p] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

[q] Canon Ptolemæi.

[r] Canon Ptolemæi.

[s] He is said, as king of Assyria, to have brought a colony out of Babylon into Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 9, 10. which he could not have done, if he had not been king of Babylon, as well as of Assyria, at that time. And in 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. he is said, as king of Assyria, to have taken Manasseh prisoner, and to have carried him to Babylon, which argues him, at that time, to have been king of Babylon also.

and Assyria jointly together. In Ezra he is called [t] Asnappar, and hath there the honourable epithets of the great and noble added to his name by the author of that book; which argues him to have been a prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others, that had reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

In the 22d year of Manasseh, Esarhaddon, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in Babylon, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the Assyrians, in Syria and Palestine, on the destruction of his father's army in Judea, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence; and, being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength which he had acquired, by adding Babylon and Chaldea to his former kingdom of Assyria, he prepared a great army and marched into those parts, and again added them to the Assyrian empire. And then was accomplished the prophecy which was spoken by Isaiah, in the first year of Ahaz, against Samaria, [u] that, within threescore and five years, Ephraim should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people. For this year, being exactly sixty-five years from the first of Ahaz, Esarhaddon, after he had settled all affairs in Syria, marched into the land of Israel, and there taking captive all those who were the remains of the former captivity (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the land,) carried them away into Babylon and Assyria; and then, to prevent the land from becoming desolate, he brought others from [x] Babylon, and from Cutha, and from Avah, and Hamath, and Sephervaim, to dwell in the cities of Samaria in their stead. And so the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away, as well in this as in the former captivities (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity, returned with them,) soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted, to which they were too much addicted while in their own land, after a while, be-

An. 677. Manas. 22.

[t] Ezra iv. 10.

[u] Isa. vii. 8.

[x] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10.

came wholly absorded and swallowed up in them; and thenceforth utterly loosing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of. And whereas there is a sect of Samaritans still remaining in Samaria, Sichem, and other towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the law of Moses in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the Jews; yet these are not of the descendants of the Israelites, but of those nations which Esarhaddon brought to dwell in that country in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity; and, for this reason the Jews call them by no other name than that of Cuthites (the name of one of those nations whom Esarhaddon had planted there,) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that, reckoning them amongst the worst of heretics, they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them than they do even of the Christians themselves.

Esarhaddon, after he had thus possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his princes, with part of his army, into Judea, to reduce that country also under his subjection; who having vanquished Manasseh in [y] battle, and taken him, hid in a thicket of thorns, brought him prisoner to Esarhaddon, who bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon; where, his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, wherewith he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction, greatly humbled himself before him; whereon, God being intreated of by him, he mollified the heart of the king of Babylon towards him, so that, on a treaty, he was again restored to his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem; and then, knowing the Lord to be God, he abolished all those idolatrous profanations, both out of the temple, and out of all other parts of the land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the reformation of King Hezekiah, his father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other. And all Judah conformed to him herein; so that he continued in prosperity after this to the end of his reign, which was the longest of any of the kings that had sat on the throne of David, either before or after him: for he reigned fully fifty-five years, and, these being all reckoned to his reign without any

[y] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4.

chasm, it is argued from hence, that his captivity at Babylon could not have been long; but that he was, within a very short time after, again released from it.

And to this time may be referred the completion of the prophecy of Isaiah concerning [z] the removal of Shebna, the chief minister of state, and the advancement of Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, in his place. Both of them had been ministers of state under king Hezekiah, Shebna having been his scribe or secretary, and Eliakim the master of his household. And their history, as far as may be collected from the words of the prophet, appears to be thus. Shebna, being a very wicked man, was a fit person to serve the lusts and evil inclinations of Manasseh in the first part of his reign, and therefore was made his first minister of state; and Eliakim, who was of a quite contrary character, was quite laid aside. But on the revolution that happened on the coming of the army of the Assyrians, Shebna [a] was taken prisoner with his master, and carried to Babylon, and there detained in captivity [b] to his death. And therefore Manasseh, on his repentance, and return to Jerusalem, having resolved on other measures, called for Eliakim, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands; who, being a person of great wisdom, justice, and piety, soon re-established them upon the same foot as they had been in the days of Hezekiah, and so preserved them in peace and prosperity all his time, to the great honour of the king, and the good of all his people; and therefore he hath the character given him, of being [c] a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to all the house of Judah, and that, [d] having the key and government of the house of David upon his shoulders, he was the great support of it all his days. This Eliakim is supposed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himself, in the time of Manasseh, borne the office of high priest, and to have been the same who is mentioned by the name of Joakim, or Eliakim, in the history of Judith, as high priest at that time; for Joakim and Eliakim are both the same name, being both of the same signification in the Hebrew tongue, and therefore the said high priest in Judith is, in the Syriac version, and also in Jerome's Latin version of that book, called promiscuously by both these names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

[z] Is. xxii. 15—25.
[a] Is. xxii. 17.
[b] Isaiah xxii. 18.
[c] Is. xxii. 21.
[d] Is. xxii. 22.

The nations which Esarhaddon had brought to dwell in the cities of Samaria, instead of the Israelites, who had been carried thence, being, on their settling in that country, [c] much infested with lions; and the king of Babylon being told, that it was because they worshipped not the God of the country, he ordered, that one of the priests, which had been carried thence, should be sent back to teach these new inhabitants how to worship the God of Israel. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former deities, and worshipped him jointly with the gods of the nations from whence they came; and in this corruption of joining the worship of their false gods with that of the true, they continued, till the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizzim by Sanballat; but, on that occasion, abundance of Jews falling off to them, they reduced them from this idolatry, to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related; and they have continued in the same worship ever since, even to this day.

An. 676. Manas. 23.

In the eight and twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated sovereigns of Egypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling [f] out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share, which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereon, flying into the fens near the sea, he lay hid there, till, having gotten together out of the Arabian free-booters and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers; as with the Egyptians of his party, made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven, and, having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land; and thereon, seizing the whole kingdom to himself, reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

An. 671. Manas. 28.

As soon as he was well settled in the kingdom, he [g] entered into a war with the king of Assyria, about the boundaries of their two empires, which lasted many years: for, after the Assyrians had conquered Syria, Palestine only separating their respective territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between

An. 670. Manas. 29.

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[c] 2 Kings xvii.

[f] Herodot. lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

[g] Herodotus, lib. 2.

the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ afterwards, both parties striving which of the two should have the mastery of this province; and, according as they prevailed, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, possessed themselves of it. From the time of Hezekiah, it appears to have been in the hands of the Egyptians till the captivity of Manasseh. But, when Esarhaddon had conquered Judea, and carried the king prisoner to Babylon, (as hath been above-mentioned,) it is plain, that, from thenceforth the king of Assyria became master of all, even to the very entry of Egypt; and the Egyptians, being at that time divided under several princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this progress. But when Psammitichus had gained the whole monarchy to himself, and again settled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation, (which happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh,) he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into Palestine for this purpose; but, in the entry thereof, he found Ashdod, one of the first towns of that country, so strong a barrier against him, that it [h] cost him a blockade of nine and twenty years, before he could make himself master of it.

This place had formerly been [i] one of the five capital cities of the country of the Philistines. After this, the Egyptians got possession of it, and, by well fortifying of it made it so strong a barrier of their empire on that side, that Sennacherib could not enter Egypt, till [k] he had, by Tartan, one of his generals, made himself master of it; and, when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of Egypt, and the terrible loss of his army in Judea, immediately after, the Assyrians still kept it even to this time; and it was not without that long and tedious siege, which I have mentioned, that the Egyptians at last became again masters of it. And, when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war, that it did them but little service afterwards: it being then no more than the carcase of that city, which it had formerly been. And therefore the prophet Jeremiah, speaking

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[h] Herodotus, lib. 2.
[i] 1 Samuel vi. 17.
[k] Isaiah xx. 1.

of it, calls it, [l] "the remnant of Ashdod," intimating thereby that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

But, notwithstanding this long siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the rest carried on the war against the other parts of Palestine; and so it continued many years, which obliged Manasseh [m] to fortify Jerusalem anew, and to put strong garrisons into all his frontier towns against them; for, since his release from the captivity of the Assyrians, and the restoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their side in this war against the Egyptians, although they had been his former allies. And the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the land of Canaan, that is, all that had been formerly possessed by the kings of Samaria, as well as what belonged to him as king of Judah; for it is certain, that Josiah, his grandson, had all this, (as will be hereafter shewn,) that is, not only the two tribes which made up the kingdom of Judah, but also all that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the kings of Israel. And the most probable account that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to Manasseh on this occasion, to hold in homage of the kings of Assyria, and that, after his death, it was continued to his son and grandson on the same conditions; in the performance of which that good and just prince, King Josiah, afterwards lost his life, as will be shewn in its proper place.

In the 31st year of Manasseh died Esarhaddon, after he had reigned, with great felicity, thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians; and [n] Saosduchinus, his son, reigned in his stead. He is the same who in the book of Judith is called [o] Nabuchodonosor. In the beginning of the 12th year of his reign, which was the 43d of Manasseh, [p] he fought a great battle in the plains of Ragau, with Deioces, king of Media, (who in the book of Judith is called [q] Arphaxad,) and, having overthrown him, and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made

An. 668. Manas. 31.

An. 656. Manas. 43.

[l] Jeremiah xxv. 20.
[m] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.
[n] Canon. Ptol.
[o] Judith i. 1.
[p] Judith i. 5.
[q] Judith i. 1.

his retreat, and there, having overtaken him, he cut him off, and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten, he made himself master of many of the cities of Media, and among them took [r] Ecbatana itself, the royal seat of the Median empire; and, after having miserably defaced it, returned in great triumph to Nineveh, and there took his pleasure in banquetting and feasting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

After this time of feasting was over, [s] he called his officers, nobles, and chief counsellors together, to take an account of what tributary countries and provinces had not gone with him to the war, for he had summoned them all to attend him herein; and, finding that none of the western countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a decree, that Holofernes, the chief captain of his army, should go forth, to execute the wrath of his lord upon them for it. And, accordingly, the next year after, he marched westward with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those nations; till at length coming into Judea, and laying siege to Bethulia, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as in the book of Judith at full related. An. 655. Manas. 44.

That Arphaxad in the said book of Judith was Deioces, and Nabuchodonosor, Saosduchinus, appears from hence, that Arphaxad is said to be that king of Media, who was the [t] founder of Ecbatana, which all other writers agree to have been Deioces; and the beginning of the 12th year of Saosduchinus exactly agreeth with the last year of Deioces, when this battle of Ragau is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that history, which make it utterly inconsistent with any other times; for it was while [u] Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, it was while [x] the Persians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, were subject to them; it was while the [y] Median empire was in being, and not long after the building of Ecbatana; none of which could be after the captivity of Judah, where some would place this history. For, before that time, Nineveh

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[r] Judith i. 14.
[s] Judith ii.
[t] Judith i. 1, 2.
[u] Judith i. 1.
[x] Judith i. 7—10.
[y] Judith i. 1, 2.

had been long destroyed, and both the Assyrian and Median empires had been wholly extinguished, and the Persians, instead of being subject to the Assyrians, had made themselves lords over them, and over all the other nations of the east, from the Hellespont to the river Indus; for so far they had extended and established their empire, before the Jews were returned from the Babylonish captivity, and settled again in their own country. And therefore we must go much higher than the times after that captivity, to find a proper scene for the matters in that book related; and it can be no where laid more agreeably both with scripture and profane history, than in the time where I have placed it.

This book of Judith was originally written [z] in the Chaldee language, by some Jew of Babylon (which is not now extant,) and from thence, at the desire of Paula and Eustochium, was, by St. Jerome, translated into the latin tongue; which is the translation that is now extant in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith, in the preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only rendered it according to the sense of the author; and that, cutting off all the corruptions of various readings, which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the translation, which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the original. But, besides this translation of St. Jerome, there are two others, one in Greek, and the other in Syriac. That which is in Greek is attributed to Theodotion, who flourished in the time of Commodus, who was made Roman emperor in the year of Christ 180. But it must be much ancienter; for Clemens Romanus, in his epistle to the Corinthians (which was wrote near 120 years before,) brings a quotation out of it. The Syriac translation was made from the Greek, and so was also the English, which we at present have among the apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned, have several particulars, which are not in Jerome's: and some of these seem to be those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off as corruptions of the text; and particularly that which is added in the 13th verse of the first chapter, appears to be of this sort; for there the battle of Ragau is placed in the 17th year of Nabuchodonosor, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same chapter, for there it is positively said,

[z] Hieronymi Præfatio in Librum Judith.

that it was in the 12th year of his reign. And, agreeable hereto, Jerome's version placeth the expedition of Holofernes (that was the next year after) in the 13th year of Nabuchodonosor, which is the truth of the matter; whereas the other, following the blunder of the former contradiction, makes another, by placing it in the 18th year of his reign, and so renders that part of the history wholly inconsistent with itself. And therefore certainly, in this particular, Jerome's version is to be preferred, which gives good reason to think, that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

But still, whether the book be a true or a feigned history, is what learned men are not agreed in. The Romanists will have it all to be true; for they have received it unto the canon of divine writ. But, on the other hand, it is the opinion of [a] Grotius, that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he came into Judea, to raise a persecution against the Jewish church; and that the design of it was, to confirm the Jews under that persecution in their hopes that God would send them a deliverance: 'That therein, by Judith is meant Judea; by 'Bethulia, the temple or house of God; and by the sword, 'which went out from thence, the prayers of the saints; 'that Nabuchodonosor doth there denote the devil; and the 'kingdom of Assyria, the devil's kingdom, pride: that by 'Holofernes is there meant the instrument or agent of the 'devil in that persecution; Antiochus Epiphanes, who made 'himself master of Judea, that fair widow, so called, because 'destitute of relief: that Eliakim signifies God, who would 'arise in her defence, and at length cut off that instrument 'of the devil who would have corrupted her.' This particular explication of the parable (as he will have it to be) is, I confess, the peculiar fancy of this great man: But otherwise there are abundance of other learned writers among the Protestants, who agree with him in the general, that this book is rather a parabolical than a real history, made for the instructing and comforting of the people of the Jews under that figure, and not to give them a narrative of any thing really done; and their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times, where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the captivity of the Jews. My putting it in the time of Manasseh takes

[a] In Præfatione ad Annotationes in Librum Judith.

off all the objections which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the captivity, which, I confess, are unanswerable.

But where it here stands, the objections from the other part still remain; and they are these following: 1*st*, That Joakim or Eliakim (for they are acknowledged to be both [b] the same name) is said in the history of Judith to have been then high priest; but there is none of that name to be found, either in the scriptures or in Josephus, that was high priest before the captivity. 2*dly*, Achior the Amonite, in his speech to Holofernes (ch. v. ver. 18.) there speaks of the temple as having been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the reign of Zedekiah; and therefore this cannot be consistent with any time before it; and the 3d verse of chapter iv. plainly puts it after the captivity; for there the text is, that the people of the Jews were newly returned from their captivity, when Holofernes invaded Judea. 3*dly*, The chief management of the public affairs of the state are in that book placed wholly in the high priest, without any mention made of the king throughout the whole of it, or implying in the least, that there was then any such government in the land; which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times than those in which there was no king in Judah. 4*thly*, That, in the conclusion of the book, Judith is said to have lived an hundred and five years; and that none made the children of Israel any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been 45 years old when she went out to Holofernes (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man,) to make her an hundred and five years old, there must be 60 years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the 4th year of Zedekiah, when the state of the Jews had for several years been exceedingly disturbed by the Babylonians, and was, within a little while after, totally subverted by them; which makes both her life and her death absolutely inconsistent with the times in which they are above placed.

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[b] For they are both of the same signification, El being the name of God, in one, as Jehovah is in the other, and the latter part of the name is the same in both; and therefore as Jehoiakim, or Joakim, king of Judah, is called also Eliakim, so this high priest is, in the version of Jerome, called promiscuously by both names.

To the first of these objections it may be answered, 1*st*, That though there be no such person as Joakim, or Eliakim, named in scripture to have been high priest before the captivity, yet this is no argument but that there might have been such an one; for the scripture no where professeth to give us an exact catalogue of all such as had been high priests till the captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the 6th chapter of the first book of Chronicles. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the pontifical family from Aaron to Jozadack, the son of Seraiah, who was high priest at the captivity, and not a catalogue of such as had borne the pontifical office; for several are in that pedigree, who never were high priests, and several are left out that were. The high priests of the family of Eli are instances of the latter; for they are left out of that pedigree, though they were high priests: and those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former; for they are in it though they never were high priests. And it is very likely, that, from the time of Solomon to the captivity, many more such instances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact catalogue of the high priests: for, on the minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the office, whose name could not come into the pedigree; and, on the failing of an elder branch (as might have happened,) the heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the office; and then the ancestors of the collateral successor must be in the pedigree, though they never had been in the office, and those of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of Jozadack, the son of Seraiah, who was high priest at the captivity, which is in a direct line from Aaron, that is given us in the 6th chapter of the first book of Chronicles: and it being the usage of the Jews in their pedigrees, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances might be given in scripture, it is possible this also might have happened in this case. And thus much is certain, that four high priests named in scripture are not in that pedigree, *i. e.* Jehoidah, and Zechariah his son, who were high priests in the reign of Joash; Azariah, who was high priest in the reign of Uzziah; and Urijah, who was high priest in the reign of Ahaz, kings of Judah. There are indeed two Azariahs named in that pedigree, besides the Azariah who was

the father of Serahiah; but neither of these two could be the Azariah that was high priest in the time of Uzziah: for [c] Amariah, the son of the last of the said two Azariahs in that pedigree, was high priest in the time of Jehosaphat, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the high priests in Ezra and Nehemiah, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the 6th chapter of the 1st book of Chronicles. As for the catalogue of Josephus, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the names of it agree with any thing that we have in scripture. And, therefore, putting all this together, Joakim or Eliakam might have been high priest in the time of Manasseh, though there be no mention of him as such, by either of his names, either in the holy scriptures, or in the history of Josephus. But, *2dly*, That this Joakim or Eliakim (for both as has been before observed, is the same name) is not named in scripture, is not certainly true: for there are some who will have Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, that is before spoken of, to have been the person, and understand what is said in Isa. xxii. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the pontifical robe and girdle; and therefore infer from hence, that he was high priest; and [d] St. Jerome and St. Cyril, among the ancients, both were of this opinion. And it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by Isaiah that God would commit the government of the state to his hands, in the room of Shebna, who was chief minister before him; and that he should be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah; and that the key of the house of David should be laid upon his shoulder, to open and to shut without controul, as he should think fit, doth very well agree with that part which Joakim is said to have acted in the book of Judith. But that he was the same person is what I durst not from that, which is brought to prove it, lay much stress upon; neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection, what I have else said being sufficient for it.

2dly, As to the objection from ch. iv. ver. 3. of Judith, and from the speech of Achior (ch. v. ver. 18.) the words on which they are founded are not in Jerome's version; and therefore it is most likely they were put into the Greek version (from whence the English is taken) from some of those corrupted copies of the original which Jerome complains of: for in his

[c] 2 Chron. xix. 11.
[d] In Esaiam xxii.

version (which he made from the best corrected copies of the original Chaldee,) ver. 3. of chapter iv. is wholly left out, as are also those words of ch. v. ver. 18. which speak of *the temple's having been cast to the ground.* And although there be words still remaining in Jerome's version, as well as in our English, which speak of the captivity and dispersion of the Jews, and their late restoration again to their own land; yet they are none other than what may be better understood of the Assyrian captivity, in the time of Manasseh, than of the Babylonish which happened afterwards. As to the third objection, it is possible Manasseh might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his kingdom, and therefore had intrusted Joakim with the management of all affairs at Jerusalem during his absence. And if he were the Eliakim mentioned in the 22d chapter of Isaiah, and, as chief minister of state, was then invested with all that amplitude of trust and power as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his master at all therein.

But, *lastly*, To give a satisfactory answer to the fourth objection, I must confess is not in my power. Could we put this history so far back as the minority of Manasseh, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last preceding. For, then there would be reason enough, not to mention the minor king, but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair: and the death of Judith would, on this supposition, be at such a distance from the destruction of the Jewish state, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his governor, as Eliakim is described to be. And what is said in the 18th and 19th verses of the fifth chapter of Judith, concerning the captivity and restoration of the Jews, and is retained also in Jerome's version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related, to those times which followed the captivity of Manasseh, and the restoration of him and his people again to their own land. And the chronology of this history will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where else, but in the 12th year of Saosduchinus, and the last of Deioces; and these two characters of the time exactly concurring, according to Herodotus and Ptolemy, do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However, our not being able to clear this difficulty, is not a sufficient reason for us to

reject the whole history. There is scarce any history written, but what, to the next age after, may appear, as to time, place, and other circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more then, may we be apt to blunder, when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of history, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine, attributed too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land: [e] for, according to this account, it must have lasted at least eighty years: which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what scarce any other nation ever had, I would rather choose to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the air of a true history in all other particulars.

However, I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this book, for its being a true history, doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection, but that if any one will still contend, that it is only a religious romance, and not a true history; that, according to the intention of the author, the scene of it was put under the reign of Xerxes, when [f] Joakim, the son of Joshua, was high priest, and the civil government of Judea, as well as the ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that book, with the state and transactions of those times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the history of the said times, and his unskilfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this, notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any controversy with him about it;

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[e] For, allowing her to have been 45 years old at the time of her killing Holofernes, there must be 60 years after to the time of her death, and "a long time after" in the text (Judith xvi. 25.) can not imply less than 20 years more. But if we suppose her to be but 25 at the killing of Holofernes (which is more likely) it will carry down the computation even beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, which makes the objection much stronger.

[f] Nehemiah xii. 10, 26.

only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true history (which I am inclined most to think, though I will not be positive in it,) it can fall no where else, but in the time where I have laid it.

After the death of Deioces, [g] Phraortes his son succeeded in the kingdom of Media, and reigned over it twenty-two years.

In the fifty-first year of Manasseh, died [h] Saosduchinus, king of Babylon and Assyria, and Chynila- An. 648. Manas. 51.
danus reigned in his stead.

Manasseh, king of Judah, after he had reigned fifty-five years, and lived sixty-seven, [i] died at Jerusalem; and notwithstanding his signal repentance, since his An. 644. Manas. 55.
former wickedness had been so great, they would not allow him the honour of being buried in the sepulchres of the sons of David, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden.

After Manasseh reigned Ammon his son; who, imitating the first part of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner of wickedness An. 643. Ammon 1.
and impiety; whereon the servants of his house conspired against him, and slew him after he had reigned two years. But the people of the land severely revenged the murder; putting them all to death, that had any hand in it. However, they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of David, but buried him in the garden by his father; which shews, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his person; though it may well be supposed, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provoked his own domestics to it.

After the death of Ammon, [k] Josiah his son succeeded him in the kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct An. 640. Josiah 1.
of better guardians in his minority, than did Manasseh his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a prince of very extraordinary worth; equalling in piety, virtue, and goodness, if not exceeding herein, the best of his predecessors.

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[g] Herodotus lib. 1. [h] Canon Ptolemæi.
[i] 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.
[k] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

Although Ammon reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the reign of Josiah, is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of Ammon, because the odd months of the reign of Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Ammon, over and above the round number of years, which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the chronology of the ensuing history makes necessary to be here supposed.

In the 6th year of Josiah, [l] Phraortes, king of Media, having brought under him all the upper Asia (which is all that lay north of mount Taurus, from Media to the river Halys,) and made the Persians also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes, to the revenging of himself upon the Assyrians for his father's death, and accordingly marched with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the country, laid siege to Nineveh itself, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war; for, being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

An. 635 Josiah 6.

Josiah, in the [m] 8th year of his reign, being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom, and, beginning with the reformation of religion, endeavoured to purge it of all those corruptions, which had been introduced in the time of Ammon and Manasseh, his father, and grandfather; and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did David his father.

An. 665. Josiah 8.

Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes [n], having succeeded his father in the kingdom of Media, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the Assyrians for the late loss, and, having overthrown them in a great battle, led the Medes the second time to the siege of Nineveh; but, before he could make any progress therein, he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the Scythians, from the parts about the Palus Meotis, passing round the Caucasus, had made a great inroad upon them; whereby he was forced to leave Nineveh to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war, which he had against the Assyrians: for the Scythians, having vanquished him in battle, dispossessed

[l] Herodotus, lib. 1.
[m] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.
[n] Herodotus, lib. 1.

him of all the upper Asia, and reigned there twenty-eight years; during which time, they enlarged their conquests into Syria, and as far as the borders of Egypt. But there Psammitichus, king of Egypt, having met them, prevailed with intreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther; and thereby saved his country from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition, they seized [o] on Bethshean, a city in the territories of the tribe of Manasseh on this side Jordan, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia; and therefore, from them it was afterwards called Cythopolis, or the city of the Scythians. But how far the ravages of those barbarians might affect Judea is no where said, although there can be no doubt, but that those parts, as well as the rest of Palestine, both in their march to the borders of Egypt, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the Philistines, on their return from Egypt, some of the stragglers robbed [p] the temple of Venus at Askelon, and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with emerods for a long while after; which lets us know, that the Philistines had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account of the [q] ark of God. For, from that time, it seems, they looked on this disease, as the proper punishment from the hand of God, for all such like sacrilegious impieties: and for this reason assigned it to the Scythians in their histories, on their charging of them there with this crime.

Josiah, in the [r] 12th year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the knowledge of God and his laws, proceeded accordingly hereto farther to perfect that reformation, which he had begun. And therefore, making a strict inquiry, by a general progress through the land, after all the relics of idolatry which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of Baalim with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high-places, and cut down the groves and broke in pieces all the carved images, and the molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burned their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever; and when he had thus cleansed all Judah and Jerusalem, he

An. 629. Josiah 12.

[o] Syncellus, p. 214.
[p] Herodotus, lib. 1.
[q] 1 Sam. v.
[r] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.

went into the cities of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the rest of the land, that had formerly been possessed by the ten *tribes of Israel, (for all this was then subject to him,)* and *there did the same thing.*

In the 13th year of Josiah, [s] Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office, which he afterwards executed for above 40 years, in warning Judah and Jerusalem of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it: till at length, on their continuing wholly obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction.

An. 628. Josiah 13.

In the 15th year of Josiah, Chyniladanus, king of Babylon and Assyria, having, by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state, made himself contemptible to his people, [t] Nabopolassar, who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and, being a Babylonian by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned king of Babylon twenty-one years.

An. 626. Josiah 15.

Josiah, [u] in the 18th year of his reign, took especial care for the repairing of the house of God, and therefore sent several of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon Hilkiah the high priest, that he should see it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work; so that all might be put in thorough repair. The high priest, in pursuance of this order, took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done; and, while he was thus examining every place, he found the authentic copy of the law of Moses. This ought to have been laid up [x] on the side of the ark of the covenant in the most holy place; but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of Manasseh, as it is conjectured, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This book Hilkiah sent to the king by Shaphan the scribe, who, on his delivering of it to the king, did, by his command read some part of it to him. The place, which on the opening of the book he happened on, was

An. 623. Josiah 18.

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[s] Jer. i. 2. and xxv. 3.

[t] Alexander Polihistor apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. et apud Syncellum, p. 210.

[u] 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

[x] Deut. xxxi. 26.

(say the Jewish doctors) that part of the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein are denounced the curses of God against the people of Israel, and against the king in particular, (verse 26.) in case they should not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this, Josiah rent his clothes through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation, on the account both of himself and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had transgressed this law, and dreading the curses denounced against them for it. To ease his mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts, he sent Hilkiah the high priest with several of his officers to Huldah the prophetess, to inquire of the Lord. The answer, which they brought back, was a sentence of destruction upon Judah and Jerusalem; but that as to Josiah, because of his repentance, the execution of it should be delayed till after his days. However, the good king to appease the wrath of God, as much as lay in his power, called together a solemn assembly of all the elders and people of Judah and Jerusalem; and, going up with them to the temple caused the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both king and people publicly entered into a solemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul; and to perform all the words of the covenant that were written in that book. And after this he made another progress through the land to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in such manner, as is in the 23d chapter of the 2d book of Kings at large related. And particularly he destroyed the altar and high place, which Jeroboam had built at Bethel, first polluting them by burning on them the bones of men, taken out of their sepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the altar and burning the high place and the grove, and stamping them all to powder; whereby he fulfilled what had been [y] prophesied of him by name many ages before in the time of Jeroboam. And he did the same in all the rest of the cities of Samaria, destroying every remainder of idolatry, which he could any where find in any of them. And, when the next passover approached, he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemnity and concourse of people from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the passover of

[y] 2 Kings xiii. 2.

Hezekiah, which is before mentioned, but all other passovers from the days of Samuel the prophet to that time.

By the behaviour both of the high priest, as well as of the king, at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears, that neither of them had seen any copy of it before; which shews into how corrupt a state the church of the Jews was then sunk, till this good king reformed it; for although Hezekiah [z] kept scribes on purpose to collect together and write out copies of the holy scriptures, yet, through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple; and therefore, after this time (by the care, we may be assured, of this religious prince,) were written out those copies of the law and other holy scriptures then in being, which were preserved after the captivity, and out of which Ezra made his edition of them, in such a manner as will be hereafter related.

In the 24th year of Josiah, [a] died Psammitichus, king of Egypt, after he had reigned fifty-four years, and was succeeded by Necus, his son, the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh Necho, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but, after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for, having gotten some of the expertest of the Phœnician sailors into his service, he [b] sent them out by the Red sea through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa: who, having sailed round it, came home the third year through the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, A. D. 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians came from thence. Since that, it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.

An. 617. Josiah 24.

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[z] Prov. xxv. 1. [a] Herodot. lib. 1. [b] Herodot. lib. 4.

In the 29th year of the reign of Josiah, which was the 23d of Cyaxares in the kingdom of Media, [c] Nabopolasar, king of Babylon, having made an affinity with Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, by the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar, his son, with Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians; and, thereon joining their forces together, they besieged Nineveh; and after having taken the place, and slain Saracus the king (who was either the successor of Chyniladanus, or he himself under another name,) to gratify the Medes they utterly destroyed that great and ancient city; and from that time Babylon became the sole metropolis of the Assyrian empire. From the time that Esarhaddon obtained the kingdom of Babylon [d], both cities equally had this honour, the kings sometimes residing at Nineveh, and sometimes at Babylon; but after this Nineveh lost it for ever; for, although there was another city afterwards erected out of the ruins of old Nineveh, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called [e] Mosul, and is only famous for being the seat of the patriarch of the Nestorians, of which sect are most of the Christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old Nineveh; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even unto this day. According to [f] Diodorous Siculus, the circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs, which make 60 of our miles. And hence it is, that it is said in Jonah to be a city [g] of three days journey, that is, in compass, for 20 miles is as much as a man can well go in a day. Strabo [h] saith of it that it was much bigger than Babylon; and in the same place he tells us, that the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs, that is, 48 of our miles. The phrase *much bigger*, may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty. An. 612. Josiah 29.

In this destruction of Nineveh was fulfilled the prophecies of [i] Jonah, [k] Nahum, and [l] Zephaniah against it. And we

[c] Eusebii Chronicon. p. 124. Alexander Polyhistor apud Syncellum, p. 210. et apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. Herodotus lib. 1.

[d] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

[e] Thevenot's Travels, part 2. book 1. c. 11. p. 50.

[f] Lib. 2.

[g] Jonah iii. 3.

[h] Lib. 16. p. 737.

[i] Chap. iii.

[k] Chap. ii. and iii.

[l] Chap. ii. 13.

are told in the book of [m] Tobit, that Tobias his son lived to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus, which exactly agrees with the account which, out of Alexander Polyhistor, I have just above given of it. For that the Assuerus here mentioned was Astyages, appears from Daniel; for Darius the Mede, who was Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, is there called the son [n] of Ahasuerus: and Nabuchodonosor was a name among the Babylonians commonly given to their kings, as that of Pharaoh was among the Egyptians. And that Nabopollasar in particular was so called, not only appears from [o] the rabbinical writings of the Jews, but also from Josephus himself, a writer by reason of his antiquity, of much better authority in this matter. For, in his Antiquities, where he is speaking of this same king, he [p] calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of Berosus, by the name of Nabuchodonosor; and afterwards, [q] in his book against Apion, repeating the same quotation, he there calls him Nabullasar, the same by contraction with Nabopollasar; which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those who take upon them, from this passage in the book against Apion, to mend that in the Antiquities, and put Nabopollasar in both places; but I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may, with as good authority, from the passage in the Antiquities, mend that in the book against Apion, and put Nabuchodonosor in both places. It is certain the books of Tobit and Judith can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or profane, which relate to those times, unless we allow Nabuchodonosor to have been a name common to the kings of Babylon.

The [r] Archbishop of Armagh hath put this destruction of Nineveh 14 years earlier, that is, in the last year of Chyniladanus in the canon of Ptolemy, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckoned that the end of his life, and the

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[m] Chap. xiv. 15.

[n] Daniel ix. 1.

[o] In Juchasin, Nebuchadnezar, is called Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, fol. 136, and David Gaoz, under the year of the world 3285, calls the father Nebuchadnezzar the first and the son Nebuchadnezzar the second.

[p] Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

[q] Lib. 1.

[r] In Annalibus Veteris Testamenti sub anno mundi.

end of his reign in that canon happened both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that city: whereas, the computation of that canon being by the years of the kings that reigned at Babylon, Chyniladanus' reign there must end where Nabopollasar's begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of Assyria after he had lost that of Babylon, and that it was not till some time after that loss that Nineveh was destroyed: for Eusebius placeth the destruction of Nineveh in the 23d year of the reign of Cyaxares; and to put it back 14 years, to the last of Chyniladanus in the canon, will make it fall in the 9th year of Cyaxares, which is too early either for his son Astyages to have a daughter marriageable, or for Nebuchadnezzar to be of age sufficient to take her to wife: for, after this rate, Nebuchadnezzar must be allowed to have been [s] at the least 85 years old at the time of his death, and Astyages much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives, both by luxury and fatigue, much faster than other men.

At the destruction of this city of Nineveh ended the book of Tobit. It was first written [t] in Chaldee by some Babylonian Jew, and seems, in its original draught, to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates; first begun by Tobit, then continued by Tobias, and lastly finished by some other of the family, and afterwards digested by the Chaldee author into that form in which we now have it. Jerome [u] translated it out of the Chaldee into Latin, and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. But there is a Greek version much ancienter than this; for we find it made use of by Polycarp, Clemens Alexandrinus, and other fathers, who were before Jerome; and from this hath been made the Syriac version, and also that which we have in English among the apocryphal writers in our Bible. But the Chaldee original is not now extant. The Hebrew copies which go about of this book, as well as that of Judith, seem both to be of a modern composure. It being easier to settle the chronology of this book than that of the

[s] For, according to this account, this marriage must have been 21 years before Nebuchadnezzar began to reign, and he reigned 43 years; and it must also have been 31 years before Astyages began to reign, and he reigned 30 years.

[t] Præfatio Hieronymi in Tobiam.

[u] They are generally thought to have been made by Munster.

book of Judith, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on, both by Jews and Christians, as a genuine and true history; though, as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of Tobias in a long journey under the shape of Azarias, the story of Raguel's daughter, the frighting away of the devil by the smoke of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of Tobit's blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcileable to a rational credibility; for these things look more like the fictions of Homer than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book which doth not lie against the other. However, it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of charity and patience, in the example of Tobit's ready helping his brethren in distress to the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The Latin and Greek versions of this book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having some particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the Latin version must give place to the Greek. For [x] Jerome made it, before he himself understood Chaldee, by the help of a learned Jew, from whose mouth, he tells us, he wrote down in Latin what the other rendered into Hebrew from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time; and a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes as well as inaccuracies in it. But his translation [y] of Judith was made afterwards, when, by his farther studies in the oriental languages, he had rendered himself as much master of the Chaldee as he was before of the Hebrew; and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best; and therefore his version of that book may well deserve an authority beyond the Greek, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which Jerome translated his Tobit from were a true copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book: for (ch. xiv. 7.) there is mention made of the temple of Jerusalem as then burned and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed. The Greek version, as also

[x] Hieronymi Præfatio in Tobiam.
[y] Hieronymi Præfatio in Librum Judith.

the English, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, speak only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not historically, as of that which was already done, as Jerome's doth. However, this Latin edition is that which the church of Rome hath canonized. If the historical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the most that can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

The Babylonians and the Medes having thus destroyed Nineveh, as is above related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours; and therefore, to put a stop to their growing greatness, [z] Necho, king of Egypt, in the 31st year of King Josiah, marched with a great army towards the Euphrates to make war upon them. The words of Josephus are, [a] That it was to make war upon the Medes and 'Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian empire;' which plainly shews, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution, and consequently, that the destruction of Nineveh, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where, according to Eusebius, I have placed it.

On Necho's taking his way through Judea, [b] Josiah resolved to impede his march; and therefore, getting together his forces, he posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, there to stop his passage: whereon Necho sent ambassadors unto him, to let him know, that he had no design upon him, that the war he was engaged in was against others; and therefore advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But Josiah not hearkening thereto, on Necho's marching up to the place where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battle between them; wherein Josiah was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which, on his return to Jerusalem, he there died, after he had reigned thirty-one years. An. 610. Josiah 31.

It is the notion of many, that Josiah engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over confidence in the merit of his own righteousness; as if God, for this reason, must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption

[z] Herodotus, lib. 2. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.
[a] Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.
[b] 2 Kings xxxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

very unworthy of so religious a person. There was another reason that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of Manasseh's restoration, the kings of Judah were homagers to the kings of Babylon, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their enemies, especially against the Egyptians, and to defend that border of their empire against them; and, for this purpose, they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the land of Canaan, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the Assyrians. It is certain Josiah had the whole land of Israel in the same extent in which it had been held by David and Solomon, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it; and it was executed by him, not only in Bethel (where one of Jeroboam's calves stood,) but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority as in Judea itself; and therefore he must have been king of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battle was fought, not within the territories of Judea, but at Megiddo, a town of the tribe of Manasseh, lying in the middle of the kingdom of Israel, where Josiah would have had nothing to do, had he not been king of that kingdom also, as well as of the other of Judah: and he could have had it no otherwise, but by grant from the king of Babylon, a province of whose empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by Tiglath-Pileser, and afterwards finished by Salmaneser and Esarhaddon. And if this grant was not upon the express conditions which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the sovereign was paramount, and a steady adherence to his interest, against all his enemies, was always required in such cases, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that Josiah had taken such an oath to Nabopollasar, the then reigning king of Babylon, as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah afterwards did to Nebuchadnezzar, his son and successor in that empire; and therefore, should Josiah, when under such an obligation, have permitted an enemy of the king of Babylon to pass through his country to make war upon him, without any opposition, it would plainly have amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man as Josiah was, could not but absolutely detest. For, although the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet

the breaking of faith with an heathen was condemned [c] by God himself in Jehoiakim and Zedekiah; and most certainly it would have been condemned in Josiah also, had he become guilty of it; which being what a person so well instructed in religion as Josiah was could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense which he had of his duty, in this particular, seems solely to have been that which engaged him in this war, in which he perished: and with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the Jewish nation; for, after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's judgments upon the land, till at length, all Judah and Jerusalem were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

The death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by Jeremiah, the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the Jews; and therefore, while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote [d] a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of Jerusalem. This [e] last is that which we still have; the other is not now extant.

Megiddo, where the battle was fought, was a city [f] in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which is by Herodotus called Magdolum, nigh it was the city of Hadad-Rimmon, afterwards called [g] Maximianopolis; and therefore the lamentation for the death of Josiah is in scripture called the "Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon in the valey of Megiddo;" which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, [h] that the lamentation of Hadah-Rimmon afterwards became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow.

This great and general mourning of all the people of Israel for the death of this prince, and the prophet Jeremiah's joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them, which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the

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[c] Ezek. xvi. 13—19. [d] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

[e] This last, referring throughout to the destruction of Jerusalem, could not be that which was wrote upon the death of Josiah.

[f] Joshua xvii. 11. Judges i. 27.

[g] Hieronymous. [h] Zechariah xii. 11.

words of that prophet, spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the first book of [i] Esdras, and others from him, say: for then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command; and then neither God's prophet, nor God's people, could in this case without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him as this mourning implied; and therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides, it is to be observed, that no part of canonical scripture gives us the least intimation of it; nor can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet Jeremiah, or any other prophet, to recal Josiah from this war. All that is said of it is from the apocryphal book I have mentioned; of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from Ezra, or some other canonical scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves (for they have not taken this book into their canonical scripture, though they have those of Tobit and of Bell and the Dragon;) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

It is said indeed (2 Chr. xxxv. 21.) that Necho sent messengers to Josiah, to tell him, that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not; and (ver. 22.) that Josiah hearkened not to the word of Necho, from the mouth of God. And, from all this put together, some would infer, that Josiah was disobedient to the word of God, in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the character which is given us in scripture of that religious and excellent prince; and therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God, the Lord Jehovah who was the God of Israel, but of the Egyptian gods, whose oracles Josiah had no reason to have any regard to. For Necho, being an heathen prince, knew not the Lord Jehovah, nor ever consulted his prophets or his oracles: the Egyptian gods were those only whom he worshipped, and whose oracles he consulted; and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his false Egyptian gods, whom he ser-

[i] Chap. i. 28.

ved: for, wherever the word God occurs in this text, it is not expressed in the Hebrew original by the word Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word Elohim, which being in the plural number, is equally applicable to the false gods of the heathens, as well as to the true God, who was the God of Israel; and, in the scriptures of the Old Testament, it is equally used for the expressing of the one as well as the other. For, wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false gods, it is by the word Elohim that they are there mentioned. And, whereas it is said (ver. 22.) that "Josiah hearkened not to the words of Necho from the mouth of God, (and from hence it is chiefly inferred, that the message which Necho sent to Josiah was truly from God,) it is to be observed, that the phrase, which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the Hebrew original Mippi Elohim, *i. e.* from the mouth of Elohim, which may be interpreted of the false gods, as well as of the true God (as hath been already said,) and much rather, in this place, of the former, than of the latter. For, wherever else, [k] through the whole Hebrew text of the holy scriptures, there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name Jehovah, which determines it to be the true God; and this is the only place, in the whole Hebrew Bible, where, in the use of this phrase, it is expressed otherwise, that is, by the name Elohim, and not by the name Jehovah; which change in the phrase, in this place, is a sufficient proof to me, that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word, which is here said to come from the mouth of Elohim, is not the same with the word which is, every where else, in the use of this phrase in scripture, said to come from the mouth of Jehovah, but that Elohim must, in this place, signify the false gods of the Egyptians; and that from their false oracles only Necho had this word which he sent to Josiah. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? Or how could any such revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever consulted them? And therefore, most certainly, the word which is here said to come Mippi Elohim, *i. e.* from the mouth of Elohim, must be understood only of Necho's Elohim, that is, of those

[k] See Deut. viii. 3. Josh. ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 12. Is. i. 20. xl. 5. lviii. 14. lxii. 2. Jer. ix. 12. & xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4.

false Egyptian gods, whose oracles he consulted, before he undertook this expedition, as it was then usual with heathen princes, on such occasions, to consult the false deluding oracles of the gods they worshipped. And had it been here Mippi Jehovah, *i. e.* from the mouth of Jehovah, instead of Mippi Elohim, considering who sent the message, it would not have much mended the matter; for Josiah would have had no reason to believe it from such a messenger. When Sennacherib came up against Judah, he sent Hezekiah word, [l] that the Lord (Jehovah in the Hebrew) said unto him, Go up against this land, and destroy it. But it was not reckoned a fault in Hezekiah, that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in Josiah in doing the same. For, it is certain, that Sennacherib, in so pretending, lied to king Hezekiah; and, why might not Josiah then have as good reason to conclude that Necho, in the like pretence, might have lied also unto him? for God used not to send his word to his servants by such messengers. But Necho's pretence was not so large as Sennacherib's; for Sennacherib pretended to be sent by Jehovah, the certain name of the true God, but Necho pretended to be sent only by Elohim, which may be interpreted of his false Egyptian gods, as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text; and therefore Josiah could not be liable to any blame, in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

After the death of Josiah, [m] the people of the land took Jehoahaz, his son, who was also called Shallum, and made him king in his stead. He was much unlike his father, for he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his throne into a prison, where he ended his days with misery and disgrace in a strange land.

For Pharaoh-Necho, [n] having had the good success, in this expedition, to beat the Babylonians at the Euphrates; and having thereon taken Carchemish, a great city in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good garrison, after three months returned again towards Egypt, and hearing, in his way, that Jehoahaz had taken upon him to be king of Judah,

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[l] 2 Kings xviii. 25. Is. xxxvi. 10.
[m] 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.
[n] Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

without his consent, [o] he sent for him to Riblah in Syria, and on his arrival, caused him to be put in chains, and sent him prisoner into Egypt, where he died; and then proceeding on his way, came to Jerusalem, where he made [p] Jehoiakim, another of the sons of Josiah, king, instead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an [q] hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold; and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

Herodotus, making mention of this expedition of Necho's, and also of the battle which he fought at Megiddo (or Magdolum, as he calleth it,) [r] saith, that, after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city Cadytis, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis in Lydia, the chief city of all Lesser Asia in those times; by which description, this city, Cadytis, could be none other than Jerusalem; for that is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis but that only: and it is certain, from scripture, that, after this battle, Necho did take Jerusalem, for he [s] was there when he made Jehoiakim king. There is, I confess, no mention of this name, either in the scriptures, or in Josephus; but that it was however called so, in the time of Herodotus, by the Syrians and Arabians, doth appear from this, that it is called by them, and all the eastern nations, by no other name but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day; for Jerusalem is a name now altogether as strange among them, as Cadytis is to us. They [t] all call it by the name of Al-kuds, which signifies the same that Cadytis doth, that is, The Holy: For, from the time that Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, and it was thereby made to all Israel the common place of their religious worship, this epithet

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[o] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

[p] This Jehoiakim was elder brother to Jeoahaz; for the latter was but 23 years old when the other was 25. 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36. and yet the people, on the death of Josiah, chose Jehoahaz to succeed him.

[q] The whole annual tribute, as here taxed, came to 52,200l. of our money.

[r] Herodotus lib. 22.

[s] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

[t] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum p. 137. Sandy's travels, b. 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia, sub voce Hierosolyma.

of The Holy was commonly given unto it; and therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the sacred writings of the Old Testament, [u] Air Hakkodesh, *i. e.* the City of Holiness, or the Holy City, and so also in [x] several places in the New Testament. And this same title they gave it in their coins, for the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was [y] Jerusalem Kedushah, *i. e.* Jerusalem the Holy; and this coin going current among the neighbouring nations, especially after the Babylonish captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the East, it carried this name with it among them; and they from hence called this city both by the names, Jerusalem Kedushah, and at length, for shortness-sake, Kedushah only, and the Syrians (who in their dialect usually turned the Hebrew *sh* into *th*) Kedutha. And the Syriac, in the time of Herodotus, being the only language that was then spoken in Palestine (the Hebrew having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the Babylonish captivity,) he found it, when he travelled through that country, to be called there in the Syriac dialect Kedutha, from whence, by giving it a Greek termination, he made it, in the Greek language, Κάδυτις, or Cadytis, in his history, which he wrote about the time that Nehemiah ended his twelve years government at Jerusalem. And, for the same reason that it was called Kedushah, or Kedutha, in Syria, and Palestine, the Arabs, in their language, called it [z] Bait Almokdes, *i. e.* the Holy Buildings, or the Holy City, and often, with another adjective of the same root, and the same signification, Bait Alkuds, and at length simply Alkuds, *i. e.* the Holy, by which name only [a] it is now called by the Turks, Arabs, and all other nations of the Mahometan religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name which is now given that place, it is necessary I acquaint the reader, that the Arabs being the ancientest nation in the world (who have never been by any conquest dispossessed, or driven out of their country, but have there always remained in a continued

[u] Neh. xi. 1. & 18. Isa. xlviii. 2. and c. lii. 1. Dan. ix. 24.

[x] Matth. iv. 5. & xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2.

[y] See Lightfoot's works, vol. 1. p. 497. and vol. 2. p. 303. and Walton's Apparatus before the Polyglot Bible, p. 36, 37.

[z] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137.

[a] Sandy's travels, b. 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geog. sub voce Hierosolyma.

descent from the first planters of it even to this day,) and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their country, they have still retained those names of places which were at first given them, and on their getting the empire of the East, restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several ages extinct, by the intermediate changes that had happened in them. And thus [b] the ancient metropolis of Egypt, which from Mizraim, the son of Ham, the first planter of that country after the flood, was called Mesri, and afterwards for many ages had the name of Memphis, was, on the Arabs making themselves masters of Egypt again, called Mesri, and hath retained that name ever since, though, by the building of Cairo on the other side of the Nile over against it (for Mesri stands on the west side of that river,) that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the city of Tyrus, which was anciently called [c] Zor or Zur (from whence the whole country of Syria had its name,) hath, since it fell into the hands of the Arabs, on the erecting of the empire in the East, been again called [d] Sor, and is at this day known by no other name in those parts. And by the same means the city of Palmyra hath again recovered the old name of Tadmor, by which it was called [e] in the time of Solomon, and is now known in the east by no other name: and abundance of other like instances might be given in the east to this purpose, and the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the Welsh, in their language, do still call all the cities in England by the old British names, by which they were called 1300 years ago, before the Saxons dispossessed them of this country; and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same British names, by which they still call them.

Jehoiakim, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed

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[b] Bocharti Phaleg. part. 1. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153. &c.

[c] So it is called in the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament, wherever there is mention of this city therein.

[d] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130. and 131. Baudrandi Geog. sub. voce Tyrus. Thevenot's travels, b. 2. c. 60. p. 220.

[e] 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

the example of his brother [f] in doing that which was
An. 609. Jehoiak. 1. evil; for he went on in his steps to relax all the good order and discipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good king's reformation,) gladly laying hold hereof, did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and run into all manner of iniquity, whereon the prophet Jeremiah, being sent of God [g] first went into the king's house, and there proclaimed God's judgments against him, and his family, if he went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them; and after that [h] he went up into the temple, and there spoke to all the people that came up thither to worship, after the same manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purposed to bring upon them; but that, if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple should be brought to utter desolation: which angering the priests that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the king's counsel to have him put to death. But Ahikam, one of the chief lords of the council, so befriended Jeremiah, that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general suffrage, not only of the princes, but also of all the elders of the people that were then present. This Ahikam was [i] the father of Gedaliah, that was afterwards made governor of the land under the Chaldeans, and the son of Shaphan the scribe (who was [k] chief minister of state under King Josiah) and brother [l] to Gemariah, [m] Elasah, and [n] Jazaniah, who were great men in those days, and members also of the council with him; and therefore, in conjunction with them, he had a great interest there, which he made use of on this occasion to deliver the prophet from that mischief which was intended against him.

But [o] Uriah, another prophet of the Lord, who had this

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[f] 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.
[g] Jer. xxii.
[h] Jer. xxvi.
[i] 2 Kings xxv. 22.
[k] 2 Kings xxii.
[l] Jer. xxxvi. 10.
[m] Jer. xxix. 3.
[n] Ezek. viii. 11. From which place it is inferred, that Jazaniah was then president of the sanhedrin.
[o] Jer. xxvi. 20—23.

same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For Jehoiakim was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death; whereon Uriah fled into Egypt. But this did not secure him from his revenge; for he sent into Egypt after him, and, having procured him to be there seized, brought him up from thence, and slew him at Jerusalem; which became a further enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

About the same time also prophesied the prophet Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, who, being called to the prophetic office in the reign of Josiah, continued (as seems most likely) to this time; for they prophesied the same things that Jeremiah did, and upon the same occasion, [p] that is, destruction and desolation upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the many heinous sins they were then guilty of. Zephaniah doth not name the Chaldeans, who were to be the executioners of this wrath of God upon them, but [q] Habakkuk doth. As to Habakkuk, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was descended, are any where named in scripture; but he prophesying the coming of the Chaldeans in the same manner as Jeremiah did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of Zephaniah it is directly said, [r] that he prophesied in the time of Josiah, and in his pedigree (which is also given us) his father's grandfather is called [r] Hezekiah, which, some taking to be King Hezekiah, do therefore reckon this prophet to have been of royal descent.

In the third year of Jehoiakim, [s] Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, finding that, on Necho's taking of Carchemish, all Syria and Palestine had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm, was unable to march thither himself to reduce them; he took Nebuchadnezzar his son into partnership with him in the empire, and [t] sent him with an army into those parts; and from hence the Jewish computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim: for it was about the end of that year that this

An. 607. Jehoiak. 3.

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[p] Hab. i. 1—11. Zeph. i. 1—18.
[q] Hab. i. 5. [r] Zephaniah i. 1.
[s] Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apion. lib. 1.
[t] Daniel i. 1.

was done; and therefore, according to the Jews, [u] the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but, according to the Babylonians, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards; and both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

In the 4th year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar [x] having beaten the army of Necho, king of Egypt, at the Euphrates, and retaken Carchemish, marched towards Syria and Palestine, to recover those provinces again to the Babylonish empire; on whose approach [y] the Rachabites, who, according to the institution of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, their father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only lived in tents, finding no security from this invasion in the open country, retired for their safety to Jerusalem, where was transacted between them and Jeremiah what we find related in the 35th chapter of his prophecies.

An. 606. Jehoiak. 4.

This very [z] same year Jeremiah prophesied of the coming of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah and Jerusalem, that the whole land should be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of seventy years continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the Jews; and he also delivered several other prophecies of the many calamities and woful desolations, that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending, thereby, if possible, to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

But all this working nothing upon their hardened and obdurate hearts, God commanded him [a] to collect together, and write in a roll, all the words of prophecy which had been spoken by him against Israel, Judah, and the nations, from the 13th year of Josiah (when he was first called to the prophetic office) to that time; whereon Jeremiah called to him Baruch, the son of Neriah, a chief disciple of his, who, being a ready scribe, wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll, which he had thus written, up into the temple, and there read it, in the hearing of all the people, on the great fast of the expiation, when all

[u] Jer. xxv. 1. Which same 4th year was the 23d from the 13th of Josiah, when Jeremiah first began to prophesy, ver. 3.

[x] Jer. xlvi. 1.

[y] Jer. xxxv. 6—11.

[z] Jer. xxv.

[a] Jeremiah xxxvi.

Judah and Jerusalem were assembled together at that solemnity; for Jeremiah, being then shut up in prison for his former prophesying, could not go up thither himself, and therefore, by God's command, Baruch was sent to do it in his stead; and at his first reading of the roll, whether it were that Jehoiakim and his princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which Nebuchadnezzar was then just ready to invade, or that, amidst the distractions which usually happen on such impending dangers, men's minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time expressed either against the prophet or his disciple on this occasion. But Baruch being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publicly read, the word of prophecy, which we have in the 45th chapter of Jeremiah, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations, which, according to the words of the roll, should be certainly brought upon Judah and Jerusalem, he should be sure to find a deliverance; for that none of them should reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey, in all places wheresoever he should go.

The great fast of the expiation, wherein Baruch read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the Jews [b] on the tenth day of the month Tizri, which answers to our September. Immediately after that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea; and, having laid siege to Jerusalem, [c] made himself master of it in the ninth month, called Cisleu, which answers to our November, on the 18th day of that month, (for on that day is still kept by the Jews an annual fast in commemoration of it even to this day,) and, having then taken Jehoiakim prisoner, he put him in chains, to carry him to Babylon. But he having [d] humbled himself to Nebuchadnezzar, and submitted to become his tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his kingdom; and Nebuchadnezzar marched from Jerusalem for the farther prosecuting of his victories against the Egyptians.

But, before he removed from Jerusalem, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent captive to Babylon,

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[b] Leviticus xvi. 29. and xxiii. 27.
[c] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.
[d] 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

and particularly [c] gave order to Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, that he should make choice out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, such as he found to be of the fairest countenance, and the quickest parts, to be carried to Babylon, and there made eunuchs in his palace; whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken by [f] Isaiah the prophet to Hezekiah, king of Judah, above an hundred years before. At the same time also, he [g] carried away a great part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to put them in the house of Bel, his god, at Babylon. And therefore, the people being thus carried into captivity, the sons of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the king of Babylon, the vessels of the temple carried thither, and the king made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the Babylonians, from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, [h] foretold by the prophet Jeremiah; and the fourth year of Jehoiakim must be the first year in that computation.

Among the number of the children, that were carried away in this captivity by the master of the eunuchs, were [i] Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. Daniel they called Belteshazzar, and the other three, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Some, indeed, do place their captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in scripture. For these children, after their carrying away to Babylon, were to be [k] three years under the tuition of the master of the eunuchs, to be instructed by him in the language and the learning of the Chaldeans, before they were to be admitted to the presence of the king, to stand and serve before him. But in the second [l] year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign at Babylon, from his father's death (which was but the 4th year after his first taking of Jerusalem,) Daniel had not only admission and freedom of access to the presence of the king, but we find him [m] there interpreting of his dream, and immediately thereon advanced to be chief [n] of the governors of the wise men, and ruler over all the province of Babylon: for which trust less than four years instruc-

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[c] Daniel i. 3.
[f] Isa. xxxix. 7. 2 Kings xx. 18.
[g] Daniel i. 2.
[h] Jer. xxv. 11. & xxix. 10.
[i] Daniel i. 6.
[k] Daniel i. 5.
[l] Daniel ii. 16.
[m] Dan. ii. 31.
[n] Dan. ii. 48.

tion in the language, laws, usages, and learning of the country can scarce be thought sufficient to qualify him, nor could he any sooner be old enough for it; for he was but a youth when he was first carried away from Jerusalem. And therefore all this put together doth necessarily determine the time of Daniel's and the other children's carrying away to Babylon to the year where I have placed it; and, if we will make scripture consistent with scripture, it could not possibly have been any later. Daniel, speaking of the captivity, [o] begins the history of it from the 3d year of Jehoiakim, which placeth it back still a year farther than I have done: and this is an objection on the other hand; but the answer hereto is easy. Daniel begins his computation from the time that Nebuchadnezzar was sent from Babylon by his father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the 3d year of Jehoiakim: after that, two months at least must have been spent in his march to the borders of Syria. There, in the 4th year of Jehoiakim (we suppose in the beginning of that year) he fought the Egyptians; and, having overthrown them in battle, besieged Carchemish, and took it: after this, he reduced all the provinces and cities of Syria and Phœnicia, in which having employed the greatest part of the year (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time,) in the beginning of October, he came and laid siege to Jerusalem, and, about a month after, took the city: and from hence we date the beginning of Daniel's servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity; and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

The Scythians, who had now for 28 years held all the Upper Asia (that is, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia,) were this year again [p] driven out of it. The Medes, whom they had dispossessed of these provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force; but finding themselves unable to succeed this way, they at length accomplished it by treachery: for, under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpose to carry on the fraud,) they invited the greatest part of them to a feast, where, having made them drunk, they slew them all; after which, having easily subdued the rest, they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their empire to the river Halys, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the west.

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[o] Dan. i. 1. [p] Herodot. lib. 1.

After the Chaldeans were gone from Jerusalem, Jehoiakim, instead of being amended by those heavy chastisements which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all those ways of wickedness and impiety which he had before practised; and Judah and Jerusalem kept pace with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's wrath, and the hastening of their own destruction. However, no means were omitted to reclaim them; and Jeremiah the prophet, who was particularly sent to them for this purpose was constantly calling upon them, and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction which was coming upon them, of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having, on the ninth month, called Cisleu, proclaimed a public fast to be held on the 18th day of the same, because of the calamity which they had suffered thereon, in the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans the year foregoing (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been before said) the prophet, laying hold of this opportunity, when all Judah and Jerusalem were met together to keep this solemnity, [d] sent Baruch again up into the temple with the roll of his prophecies, there to read it a second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another trial, if by the terrors of these prophecies, it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command, by the mouth of his prophet, Baruch accordingly went up into the temple on the said fast-day, and entering into the chamber of Gemariah the scribe (which was the room where the king's council used to sit in the temple, near the east gate of the same) did there, from a window aloft, read in the hearing of all the people, then gathered together in the court below, all the words of the said roll: which Micaiah, the son of Gemariah, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the king's house, and there informed the lords of the council of it; whereon they sent for Baruch, and caused him to sit down, and read the roll over to them; at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much affrighted, inquired of Baruch the manner of his writing of it; and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll

An 605. Jehoiak. 5.

[d] Jeremiah xxxvi. 9, 10, &c.

and depart, advising, that he and Jeremiah should immediately go and hide themselves, where no one might find them; and then went in to the king, and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the roll, and caused it to be read to him; but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a pen-knife, and cast it into the fire that was there before him, till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the lords of the council intreated him to the contrary; and immediately thereon, issued out an order to have Baruch and Jeremiah seized; but having hid themselves, as advised by the council, they could not be found.

The Jews keep an annual fast even to this day for the burning of this roll: the day marked for it in their kalender is the 29th day of [r] Cisleu, eleven days after that, which they keep for that fast, on which it was read in the temple. But, the reading of the roll on the fast of the 18th of Cisleu, and the burning of it according to the account given hereof by Jeremiah, seem immediately to have followed each other.

After the burning of this roll, another by God's especial command was forthwith written in the same manner, from the mouth of the prophet, by the hand of Baruch, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll; and there were added many other like words, and particularly that prophecy in respect of Jehoiakim and his house, which is, for this impious fact, in the 30th and 31st verses of the 36th chapter of Jeremiah, denounced against them.

In making the roll to be read twice in the temple by Baruch, I confess, I differ from most that have commented upon this place of scripture. But as the reading of the roll by Baruch is, in the 36th chapter of Jeremiah, twice related, so it is plain to me, that it was twice done: for in the first relation, [s] it is said to be done in the 4th year of Jehoiakim, and, in the second, it is [t] said to be done in the 5th; which plainly denotes two different times. And, in the first relation, Jeremiah [u] is said to be shut up in prison, when the roll was read; but, in the second relation, it plainly appears, he was out of prison, for [x] he was then at full liberty to go out of the way and hide himself. For these reasons I take it for

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[r] Cisleu is the 9th month in the Jewish year, and answers to our November.

[s] Jer. xxxvi. 1.

[t] Jer. xxxvi. 9.

[u] Jer. xxxvi. 5.

[x] Jer. xxxvi. 26.

certain, that the roll was twice read: and I have Archbishop Usher with me in the same opinion, whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

Nebuchadnezzar, after his departure from Jerusalem, employed all this year in carrying on his war against the Egyptians, in which he had that success, that before the ensuing winter, he had driven them out of all Syria and Palestine, and brought in subjection to him, [y] from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt, all that formerly belonged to the king of Egypt, *i. e.* all Syria and Palestine. For, as the river Euphrates was the boundary of Syria towards the north-east; so the river of Egypt was the boundary of Palestine towards the south-west. This river of Egypt, which is so often mentioned in scripture as the boundary of the land of Canaan, or Palestine, towards Egypt, was not the Nile, as many suppose, but a small river, which, running through the desart that lies between these two countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promised to the seed of Abraham, (Gen. xv. 18.) and was afterwards by lot divided among them, Joshua xv. 4.

Towards the end of the 5th year of Jehoiakim, died Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, and father of Nebuchadnezzar, after he had reigned [z] one and twenty years, which Nebuchadnezzar being informed of, [a] he immediately, with a few only of his followers, hastened through the desart the nearest way to Babylon, leaving the gross of his army, with the prisoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals.

An. 604. Jehoiak. 6. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his father in the whole empire, which contained Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, and reigned over it, according to Ptolemy, forty-three years; the first of which begins from the January following, which is the Babylonish account, from which the Jewish account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the Jewish and the Babylonish; Daniel

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[y] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[z] Canon Ptolemæ.

[a] Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

follows the latter, but all other parts of scripture that make mention of him, the other.

In the seventh year of Jehoiakim, which was the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account, and the fourth according to the Jewish, Daniel [b] revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar his dream, and also unfolded to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the 2d chapter of Daniel; whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon, and also chief ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the king's court, he being then about the age of twenty-two. And, in his prosperity, he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to Babylon with him, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; but, having spoken to the king in their behalf, procured, that they were preferred to places of great honour under him in the province of Babylon. These afterwards made themselves very signally known to the king, and also to the whole empire of Babylon, by their constancy to their religion, in refusing to worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon; which deservedly recommending them to the king's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced: the whole history whereof is at full related in the 3d chapter of Daniel. An. 603. Jehoiak. 7.

The same year, Jehoiakim, after he had served the king of Babylon three years, [c] rebelled against him, and, refusing to pay him any more tribute, renewed his confederacy with Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, in opposition to him. Whereon Nebuchadnezzar, not being then at leisure, by reason of other engagements, to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts to make war upon him; which brought upon Jehoiakim inroads and invasions from every quarter, [d] the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Syrians, the Arabians, and all the other nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the Babylonish yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with depredations on every side: and thus they

[b] Daniel ii.
[c] 2 Kings xxiv. 1.
[d] 2 Kings xxiv. 2.

continued to do for three years together, till at
An. 599. Jehoiak. 11. length, in the 11th year of his reign, all parties joined together against him; [c] they shut him up in Jerusalem, where, in the prosecution of the siege, having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and then cast out his dead body into the high-way, without one of the gates of Jerusalem, allowing it no other burial, [f] as the prophet Jeremiah had foretold, than that of an ass, that is, to be cast forth into a place of the greatest contempt, there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

The year before [g] died his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, after he had reigned 16 years, and Psammis his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

Jehoiakim being dead, [h] Jehoiachin his son (who is also called Jeconiah, and Coniah) reigned in his stead,
An. 598. Jehoiachin. Zedekiah 1. who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the same manner as his father had done; this provoked [i] a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him, by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after Jehoiakim's death, the servants of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, his lieutenants and governors of the provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still [k] continued to block up Jerusalem; and, after three months, Nebuchadnezzar himself came thither in person with his royal army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side; whereon Jehoiachin, finding himself unable to defend it, went out to Nebuchadnezzar with his mother, and his princes and servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby, he obtained no other favour than to save his life, for, being immediately put in chains, he was carried to Babylon, and there continued shut up in prison till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which was full seven and thirty years.

Nebuchadnezzar, having hereon made himself master of Jerusalem, [l] took thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces

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[c] 2 Kings xxiv. 10. [f] Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19. & xxxvi. 30.
[g] Herodot. lib. 2.
[h] 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.
[i] Jer. xxii. 24—30. [k] 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11.
[l] 2 Kings xxiv. 13—16.

the vessels of gold, which Solomon king of Israel, had made in the temple of the Lord, and carried them to Babylon; and he also carried thither with him a vast number of captives, Jehoiachin the king, his mother, and his wives, and his officers, and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men, out of Jerusalem only, besides the smiths, and the carpenters, and other artificers; and, out of the rest of the land, of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the crafts-men and smiths one-thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three, [m] which had been carried away the year before out of the open country, before the siege of Jerusalem was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at Babylon; of which we shall speak hereafter.

In this captivity [n] was carried away to Babylon Ezekiel the prophet, the son of Buzi, of the house of Aaron, and therefore the æra whereby he reckons throughout all his prophecies is from this captivity.

After this great carrying away of the Jews into [o] captivity, the poorer sort of the people being still left in the land, Nebuchadnezzar made Mattaniah, the son of Josiah, and uncle of Jehoiachin, king over them, taking of him a solemn oath to be true and faithful unto him; and, to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from Mattaniah to Zedekiah, which signifieth *the justice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity, which he had in his name sworn unto him.

Zedekiah, being thus made king, reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his forefathers, that they at length drew down upon Judah and Jerusalem that terrible destruction in which his reign ended.

And thus was concluded the second war which Nebuchadnezzar had with the Jews. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himself in per-

[m] Jer. lii. 28. [n] Ezek. xl. 1.
[o] 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

son, and put an end to it in the captivity of Jehoiachin, and the taking of Jerusalem. What hindered him from coming sooner is not said; only it appears, that in the tenth year of Jehoiakim, he was engaged in an arbitration between the Medes and Lydians. The occasion was this. After [p] the Medes had recovered all the upper Asia out of the hand of the Scythians, and again extended their borders to the river Halys, which was the common boundary between them and the Lydians, it was not long before there happened a war between these two nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that battle decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But, in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there happened an eclipse, which overspread both armies, with darkness; whereon, being frightened with what had happened, they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controversy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The Lydians chose Siennesis king of Cilicia, and the Medes, [q] Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who agreed a peace between them on the terms, that Astyages, son to Cyaxares, king of Media, should take to wife Arienna, the daughter of Halyattis, king of the Lydians; of which marriage, within a year after, was born Cyaxares, who is called Darius the Median in the book of Daniel. This eclipse was foretold by Thales the Milesian; and it happened on the 20th of September, according to the Julian account, in the 147th year of Nabonasser, and in the ninth of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, which was the year before Christ 601.

The same year that Cyaxares was born to Astyages, he gave his daughter Mandana, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia; of whom the next year after (which was the last year of Jehoiakim) was born Cyrus, the famous founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, their temple, and their former state.

Jehoiachin being thus carried into captivity, and Zedekiah settled in the throne, Jeremiah had, in [r] a vision, under the

[p] Herodotus, lib. 2.

[q] He is by Herodotus, lib. 1. called Labynetus.

[r] Jeremiah xxiv.

type of two baskets of figs, foreshewn unto him the restoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befal them, with their king, that were still in the land; that the captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin; as accordingly it befel them in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter devastation of the land, which happened a few years afterwards.

The same year God also foreshewed to Jeremiah the confusion which he would bring upon [s] Elam, (a kingdom lying upon the river Ulai, eastward beyond the Tigris,) and the restoration which he would afterwards give thereto; which accordingly came to pass: for it was [t] conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and subjected to him, in the same manner as Judah was. But afterwards, joining with Cyrus, it helped to conquer and subdue the Babylonians, who had before conquered them; and [u] Shushan, which was the chief city of that province, was thenceforth made the metropolis of the Persian empire, and had the throne of the kingdom placed in it.

After the departure of Nebuchadnezzar out of Judea and Syria, Zedekiah having settled himself in the kingdom, [x] the kings of the Ammonites, and of the Moabites, and of the Edomites, and of the Zidonians, and the Tyrians, and of the other neighbouring nations, sent their ambassadors to Jerusalem, to congratulate Zedekiah on his accession to the throne, and then proposed to him a league against the king of Babylon, for the shaking off his yoke, and the hindering of him from any more returning into those parts. Whereon Jeremiah, by the command of God, made him yokes and bonds, and sent them by the said ambassadors to their respective masters, with this message from God, That God had given all their countries unto the king of Babylon, and that they should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, and that, if they would submit to his yoke, and become obedient to him, it should be well with them, and their land, but, if otherwise, they should be consumed and destroyed before him. And he spake also to King Zedekiah according to the same words;

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[s] Jeremiah xlix. 34—39.
[t] Xen. Cyropæd. lib. 6.
[u] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 727.
[x] Jeremiah xxvii.

which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the league that was proposed to him by the ambassadors of those princes. But afterwards, when it was farther strengthened, by the joining of the Egyptians and other nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppression of the Babylonish domination over them, he also was drawn into this confederacy; which ended in the absolute ruin both of him and his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

An. 597. Zedek. 2. Zedekiah, about the second year of his reign, [y] sent Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemaria, the son of Hilkiah, to Babylon, on an embassy to King Nebuchadnezzar. By them Jeremiah wrote a letter to the Jews of the captivity in Babylon. The occasion of which was, Ahab the son of Kilaiah and Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, two of the captivity among the Jews at Babylon, taking upon them to be prophets sent to them from God, fed them with lying prophecies, and false promises of a speedy restoration, whereon they neglected to make any settlements in the places assigned them for their habitation, either by building of houses, cultivating their land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing else for their own interest and welfare in the country, where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a speedy return. To remedy this evil, Jeremiah wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by those who made them entertain such false hopes: that, by the appointment of God, their captivity at Babylon was to last seventy years; and those who remained in Judah and Jerusalem should be so far from being able to affect any restoration for them, that God would speedily send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, for the consuming of the greatest part of them, and scatter the rest over the face of the earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among the nations, whither he would drive them. And therefore he exhorts them to provide for themselves in the country whether they are carried, as settled inhabitants of the same, and comport themselves there, according to all the duties which belong to them as such, without expecting any return till the time that God had appointed. And as to their false prophets, who had prophesied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curse against

[y] Jeremiah xxix.

them in a speedy and fearful destruction; which accordingly was soon after executed upon them: for Nebuchadnezzar finding that they disturbed the people by their vain prophecies, and hindred them from making settlements for themselves in the places where he had planted them, caused them to be seized, and roasted to death in the fire. The [z] latter Jews say, that these two men were the two elders who would have corrupted Susannah, and that Nebuchadnezzar commanded them to be burned for this reason. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that Jeremiah, in the 23d verse of the chapter where he writes hereof, accuseth them for committing adultery with their neighbour's wives; from whence they conjecture all the rest.

These letters being read to the people of the captivity at Babylon, such as were loth to be dispossessed of their vain hopes, were much offended at them; and therefore Semaiah, the Nehelemite, another false pretender to prophecy among them, writing their as well as his own sentiments hereof, sent back letters by the same ambassadors, directing them to Zephaniah, the son of Maasciah, the second priest, and to all the priests, and people at Jerusalem, wherein he complained of Jeremiah for writing the said letters, and required them to rebuke him for the same; which letters being read to Jeremiah the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very severe punishment upon Semaiah for the same.

In the fourth year of Zedekiah, and the fifth month of that year, Hananiah, the son of Azur of Gibeon, [a] took upon him to prophesy falsely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the vessels of the house of the Lord; and King Jeconiah, and all the captives again to Jerusalem; whereon, the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah concerning Hananiah, that seeing he had spoken to the people of Judah in the name of the Lord, who sent him not, and had made them thereby to trust in a lie, he should be smitten of God, and die before the year should expire; and accordingly, he died the same year, in the seventh month, which was within two months after. An. 595. Zedek. 4.

The same year Jeremiah had revealed unto him the prophecies, which we have in the 50th and 51st chapters of Jeremiah, concerning God's judgments that were to be executed upon Chaldea and Babylon, by the Medes and Persians.

[z] Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin. [a] Jer. xxviii.

All which Jeremiah wrote in a book, and [b] delivered it to Seraiah, the son of Neriah, and brother of Baruch, who was then sent to Babylon by Zedekiah, commanding him, that, when he should come to Babylon, he should there read the same upon the banks of Euphrates; and that, when he should have there made an end of reading it, he should bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the river, to denote thereby, that, as that should sink, so should Babylon also sink, and never rise any more; which hath since been fully verified, about two thousand years having now passed since Babylon hath been wholly desolated, and without an inhabitant. Baruch seemeth to have gone with his brother in this journey to Babylon; for he is [c] said, in the apocryphal book that bears his name, to have read that book at Babylon, in the hearing of King Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, and of the elders and people of the Jews then at Babylon, on the fifth year after the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; which can be understood of no other taking of it, than that wherein Jehoiachin was made a captive; for, after the last taking of it, in the eleventh of Zedekiah, Baruch could not be in Babylon; for, after that, he went into Egypt with Jeremiah, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther, it is said, in this very book of Baruch, that after the reading of his book, as aforesaid, a collection was made at Babylon of money, which was sent to Jerusalem, to Joakim, the high priest, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, and to the priests, and to all the people that were found with him at Jerusalem, to buy burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and incense, and to prepare the mincha, and to offer upon the altar of the Lord their God; nothing of which could be true after the last taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans: for then the city and temple were burnt and utterly destroyed; and after that there was no high priest, altar, altar-service, or people, to be found at Jerusalem, till the return of the Jews again thither, after the end of their 70 years captivity. And, if there were any such person as Joakim (for he is no where else named,) since he is here said to be the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, he must have been the uncle of Seraiah, who was high priest at the burning of the temple, and grandson to the same Hilkiah; and therefore he must have been high priest before Seraiah, if there were any such person in that office at all: for it is certain,

[b] Jer. li. 59—64. [c] Baruch i. 1—4.

there were none such in it after him, during the life of Jeconiah. But of what authority this book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be historically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. Grotius [d] thinks it wholly feigned, by some hellenistical Jew, under Baruch's name, and so do many others; and it cannot be denied, but that they have strong reasons on their side. The subject of the book is an epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by King Jehoiachin, and the Jews in captivity with him at Babylon, to their brethren, the Jews that were still left in Judah and Jerusalem; with an historical preface premised; in which it is related, how Baruch, being then at Babylon, did, in the name of the said king, and the people by their appointment, draw up the said epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and how that, the collection being then made, which is above mentioned, the epistle, with the money, was sent to Jerusalem. There are three copies of it, one in Greek, and the other two in Syriac; whereof one agreeth with the Greek, but the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, is what no one can say. Jerome [e] rejected it wholly, because it is not to be found among the Jews, and calls the epistle annexed to it ψευδόγραφον, *i. e.* a false or feigned writing. The most that can be said for it is, that Cyril, of Jerusalem, and the Laodicean council, held A. D. 364, both name Baruch among the canonical books of holy scripture; for, in both the catalogues which are given us by them of these canonical books, are these words, *Jeremias, cum Baruch, Lamentationibus, et Epistola*, i. e. "Jeremiah, with Baruch, the Lamentations, and the Epistle;" whereby may seem to be meant the prophecies of Jeremiah, the lamentations of Jeremiah, the book of Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah, at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. The answer given hereto is, that these words were intended by them to express no more than Jeremiah's prophecies and lamentations only; that by the epistle is meant none other than the epistle in the 29th chapter of Jeremiah; and that Baruch's name is added, only because of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last chapter to the book of his prophecies; which

[d] In Comment. ad Baruch.
[e] In Præfatione ad Jeremiam.

is supposed to be Baruch's, because the prophecies of Jeremiah end with the chapter before, that is, the 51st; as it is positively said in the last words of it; and it must be said, that since neither in St. Cyril, nor in the Laodicean council, any of the other apocryphal books are named, it is very unlikely, that, by the name of Baruch in either of them, should be meant the apocryphal book, so named; which hath the least pretence of any of them to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which [f] the Trentine fathers found to make it so.

In the 5th year of Zedekiah, which was also the 5th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the 30th from the great reformation made in the 18th year of King Josiah, Ezekiel [g] was called of God to be a prophet among the Jews of the captivity. And this same year he saw the vision of the four cherubims, and the four wheels, which is related in the 1st chapter of his prophecies. The same year were also revealed unto him [h] the 390 years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of Israel, and the 40 years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of Judah, and the judgment which, after that, God would inflict upon both; as the whole is contained in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of his prophecies.

An. 594. Zedek. 5.

In the same year [i] died Cyaxares, king of Media, after he had reigned 40 years; and Astyages his son, who in scripture is called Ahasuerus, reigned in his stead.

In the same year [k] died also Psammis, king of Egypt, in an expedition which he made against the Ethiopians; and Apries his son, the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra, succeeded him in that kingdom, and reigned 25 years.

In the same year Ezekiel, being in a vision, was carried to Jerusalem, and there shewn all the several sorts of idolatry which were practised by the Jews in that place, and had revealed unto him the punishments which God would inflict upon them for those abominations; and this makes up the subject of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his prophecies. But at the same time, God promised to those [l] of the captivity, who, avoiding these abominations, kept themselves steady and faithful to his service, that he would become a

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[f] The History of Trent, book 2. p. 144.
[g] Ezek. i. 1, 2, 3, &c.
[h] Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c.
[i] Herodot. lib. 1.
[k] Herodot. lib. 26.
[l] Ezek. xi. 15—21.

sanctuary unto them in the strange land where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the land of Israel, and there make them flourish in peace and righteousness, as in former times. All [m] which the prophet declared to the Jews at Babylon, among whom he dwelt.

In the 7th year of Zedekiah, God did, both by types and words of revelation, foreshew unto Ezekiel the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, Zedekiah's flight from thence by night, the putting out of his eyes, and his imprisonment and death at Babylon; and also the carrying away of the Jews at the same time into captivity, the desolation of their country, and the many and great calamities which should befall them for their iniquities: and this is the subject of the 12th chapter of his prophecies. And what is contained in the seven following chapters was also the same year revealed unto him, and relates mostly to the same subject. An. 592. Zedek. 7.

At this time Daniel was grown to so great a perfection and eminency in all righteousness, holiness, and piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that [n] he is by God himself equalled with Noah and Job, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the saints that had till then lived upon the earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for, allowing him to be eighteen when he was carried away to Babylon, among other children, to be there educated, and brought up for the service of the king (and a greater will not agree with this character,) thirty-two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the service of God; and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.

Zedekiah, having in the 7th year of his reign [o] sent ambassadors into Egypt, made a confederacy with Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt; and therefore, the next year, after breaking the oath of fidelity which he had sworn in the name of the Lord his God unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, he rebelled against him; which drew on him that war which ended in his ruin, and in the ruin of all Judah and Jerusalem with him, in that calamitous destruction in which both were involved hereby. An. 591. Zedek. 8.

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[m] Ezek. xi. 25.
[n] Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.
[o] Ezek. xvii. 15.

In the 9th year of Zedekiah, [p] Nebuchadnezzar, having drawn together a great army out of all the nations under his dominion marched against him, to punish him for his perfidy and rebellion. But on his coming into Syria, finding that the Ammonites had also entered into the same confederacy with Egypt against him, he was [q] in a doubt for some time which of these two people he should first fall upon, them, or the Jews; whereon he committed the decision of the matter to his diviners, who, consulting by the entrails of their sacrifices, their teraphim, and their arrows, determined for the carrying of the war against the Jews. This way of divining by arrows was usual among these idolaters. The manner of it, Jerome [r] tells us was thus; They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they intended to make war against, and then putting them promiscuously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out thence in the manner as they draw lots; and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn, was the first they assaulted. And by this way of divination, the war being determined against Judah, Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched his army into that country, and in a few days [s] took all the cities thereof, excepting only Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem: Whereon, the Jews at Jerusalem, being terrified with these losses, and the apprehensions of a siege, then ready to be laid to that place, made a shew of returning unto the Lord their God, and entered into a solemn covenant, thenceforth to serve him only, and faithfully observe all his laws. And in pursuance hereof, [t] proclamation was made, that every man should let his man-servant, and every man his maid-servant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free, [u] according to the law of God; and every man did according hereto.

An. 590. Zedek. 9.

On the [x] tenth month of the same year, and the tenth day of the month (which was about the end of our December,) Nebuchadnezzar, with all his numerous army, laid siege to Jerusalem, and blocked it close up on every side; in memory whereof, the tenth day of Tebeth, which is their tenth month

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[p] 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 1. lij. 4.
[q] Ezek. xxi. 19—24.
[r] In comment. in Ezek. xxi.
[s] Jer. xxxiv. 7.
[t] Jer. xxxiv. 8—10.
[u] Deut. xv. 12.
[x] 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

hath ever since been observed [y] by the Jews, as a day of solemn fast even to this time.

On the same [z] tenth day of the tenth month, in which this siege began at Jerusalem, was the same revealed to Ezekiel in Chaldea; where, by the type of a boiling pot, was foreshewn unto him the dismal destruction which should thereby be brought upon that city. And the [a] same night, the wife of the prophet, who was the desire of his eyes, was, by a sudden stroke of death, taken from him; and he was forbid by God to make any manner of mourning for her, or appear with any of the usual signs of it upon him, thereby to foreshew, that the holy city, the temple, and the sanctuary, which were dearer to them than any wife can be in the eyes of her husband, should not only, by a speedy and sudden stroke of destruction, be taken from them, but that the calamity ensuing thereon should be such, and so great, as should not allow them as much as to mourn for the loss of them.

In the beginning of the tenth year of Zedekiah, [b] the prophet Jeremiah, being sent of God, declared unto him, that the Babylonians, who were now besieging of the city, should certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him prisoner, and carry him to Babylon; and that he should die there. Whereon [c] Zedekiah, being much displeased, put him in prison, and, while he was shut up there, even in this very year, [d] he purchased of Hanameel, his uncle's son, a field in Anathoth; thereby to foreshew, that although Judah and Jerusalem should be laid desolate, and the inhabitants led into captivity, yet there should be a restoration, when lands and possessions should be again enjoyed by the legal owners of them, in the same manner as in former times. An. 589. Zedek. 10.

Pharaoh Hophra, [e] coming out of Egypt with a great army to the relief of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar raised the siege of Jerusalem to march against him. But, before he went on this expedition, [f] he sent all the captive Jews which he then had in his camp to Babylon, the number of which were 832 persons.

On the departure of the Chaldeans from Jerusalem, Jeremiah being again set at liberty, [g] Zedekiah sent unto him Je-

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[y] Zech. viii. 19.
[z] Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.
[a] Ezek. xxiv. 16—18.
[b] Jer. xxxiv.
[c] Jer. xxxii. 1—3.
[d] Jer. xxxii. 7—17.
[e] Jer. xxxvii. 5.
[f] Jer. lii. 29.
[g] Jer. xxxvii. 3—10.

hucal the son of Shelemiah, and Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, the priest, to enquire of the Lord by him, and to desire him to pray for him and his people. To whom the prophet returned an answer from God, that the Egyptians, whom they did depend upon, would certainly deceive them; that their army would again return into Egypt, without giving them any help at all; and that thereon the Chaldeans would again renew the siege, take the city, and burn it with fire.

But the general opinion of the people being, that the Chaldeans were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war against them, they [h] repented of the covenant of reformation, which they had entered into before God, when they were in fear of them; and caused every man's servant, and every man's handmaids, whom they had set at liberty, again to return into servitude, to be unto them again for servants and for handmaids, contrary to the law of the Lord and the covenant which they had lately entered into with him, to walk according to it. For [i] which inhuman and unjust act, and their impious breach of the covenant lately made with God, Jeremiah proclaimed liberty to the sword, the famine and the pestilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them and their king, and their princes, and all Judah and Jerusalem to their utter destruction.

While the Chaldeans were yet absent from Jerusalem, [k] Jeremiah intending to retire to Anathoth, his native place, that thereby he might avoid the siege, which he knew would be again renewed on the return of the Chaldeans from their expedition against the Egyptians, put himself on his journey thither; but, as he was passing the gate of the city that led that way, the captain that kept guard there, seized him for a deserter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the Chaldeans; whereon he was again put in prison, in the house of Jonathan the scribe, which they had made the common jail of the city, where he remained many days.

The Egyptians, on the coming of the Chaldeans against them, durst not stay to engage in battle with so numerous a nd well appointed an army; but, [l] withdrawing on their approach, retired again into their own country, treacherously leaving Zedekiah and his people to perish in that war, which they had drawn them into. Whereon [m] the prophet Ezekiel

[h] Jer. xxxiv. 11.
[i] Jer. xxxiv. 17—22.
[k] Jer. xxxvii. 11—15.
[l] Jer. xxxvii. 7.
[m] Ezek. xxix.

reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a staff of reed to those, whom by oaths and covenants of alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's judgments against them, to be executed both upon king and people, in war, confusion, and desolation, for forty years ensuing, for the punishment hereof; and [n] also foretold, how, after that, they should sink low, and become a mean and base people, and should no more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to pass; for, not long after the expiration of the said forty years, they were made a province of the Persian empire, and have been governed by strangers ever since; for, on the failure of the Persian empire, they became subject to the Macedonians, and after them to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalukes, and are now a province of the Turkish empire.

On the retreat of the Egyptians, Nebuchadnezzar [o] returned to Jerusalem, and again renewed the siege of that place; which lasted about a year, from the second investing of it, to the time when it was taken.

The seige being thus renewed, Zedekiah [p] sent for Jeremiah out of prison, to consult with him, and enquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the present state of his affairs; to which he found there was no other answer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon. However, at the entreaty of the prophet, he was prevailed with not to send him back again to the common jail of the city, lest he should die there by reason of the noisomeness of the place; and therefore, instead thereof, he was ordered to the prison of the king's court, where he continued, with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common store, till the city was taken.

Zedekiah, finding himself in the siege much pressed by the Chaldeans, [q] sent messengers to Jeremiah, farther to inquire of the Lord by him concerning the present war. To which he answered, that the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God, being very much provoked against him and his people, for their iniquities, would fight against the city, and smite it; that both king and people should be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon; that those who continued in the city, during the seige should perish by

[n] Ezek. xxx. 13.
[o] Jer. xxxvii. 8.
[p] Jer. xxxvii. 17—21.
[q] Jer. xxi. 1.—14.

the pestilence, the famine and the sword; but that those who should go out, and fall to the Chaldeans, should have their lives given them for a prey. At which answer, [r] several of the princes and chief commanders about the king, being very much offended, pressed the king against him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and sought their hurt more than their good: whereon he being delivered into their hands, they cast him into a dungeon, where he must have perished, but that [s] Ebedmelech, an eunuch of the court, having intreated the king in his behalf, delivered him thence; for which charitable act he had a message sent him from God of mercy and deliverance unto him. After this, [t] Zedekiah sending for Jeremiah into the temple, there secretly inquired of him; but had no other answer, than what had been before given him, saving only, that the prophet told him, that, if he would go forthwith and deliver himself into the hands of the king of Babylon's princes, who commanded at the carrying on of the siege, this was the only way whereby he might save both himself and the city; and he earnestly pressed him hereto. But Zedekiah would not hearken unto him herein; but sent him back again to prison, and after that no more consulted with him.

In the 11th year of Zedekiah, in the beginning of the year, God declared, by the prophet Ezekiel, his judgments against Tyre, for their insulting on the calamitous state of Judah and Jerusalem; foreshewing, that the same calamities should be also brought upon them by the same Nebuchadnezzar, into whose hands God would deliver them; and this is the subject of the 26th, 27th, and 28th chapters of his prophecies; in the last of which God particularly upbraideth Ithobal, then king of Tyre, with the insolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and understanding, having puffed up himself herewith, as [u] "if he were wiser than Daniel; and that there was no secret that could be hid from him:" which sheweth to how great an height the fame of Daniel's wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of, by way of proverb, through all the east; and yet according to the account above given of his age, he could not at this time exceed 36 years. And, in the conclusion of the 28th chapter, the

An. 588. Zedek. 11.

[r] Jer. xxxviii. 1—6.
[s] Jer. xxxviii. 7—13.
[t] Jer. xxxviii. 14—23.
[u] Ezek. xxviii. 3.

like judgments are denounced also against Sidon, and for the same reason.

The same year God declared, by the same prophet, his judgments against Pharaoh and the Egyptians; that he would bring the king of Babylon against them, and deliver them into his hands; and that, notwithstanding their greatness and pride, they should no more escape his revenging hand than the Assyrians had done before them, who were higher and greater than they. And this is the subject of the 30th and 31st chapters of his prophecies.

In the 4th month on the 9th day of the month, of the same 11th year of Zedekiah, [x] Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans, after the siege had lasted from their last setting down before it, about a year. Hereon Zedekiah, with his men of war fled away: and, having broken through the camp of the enemy, endeavoured to make his escape over Jordan: but, being pursued after, he was overtaken in the plains of Jericho: whereon, all his army being scattered from him, he was taken prisoner, and carried to the king of Babylon, at Riblah in Syria, where he then resided; who, having caused his sons, and all his princes that were taken with him, to be slain before his face, commanded his eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of brass, and sent him to Babylon, where he died in prison: and hereby was fulfilled the [y] prophecy of the prophet Ezekiel concerning him, That he should be brought to Babylon in the land of the Chaldeans, yet should not see the place, though he should die there.

In the 5th month, on the 7th day of the month (*i. e* towards the end of our July;) came [z] Nebuzaraddon, captain of the guards, to the king of Babylon to Jerusalem; and, after having taken out all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that could be found, either in the king's house, or in any of the other houses of the city, he did, on the 10th day of the same month, pursuant to the command of his master, set both the temple and city on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortresses, and towers, belonging thereto, and wholly raising and levelling to the ground every

[x] 2 Kings xxv. 4. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 17. Jer. xxxix. 2—10. lii. 6—11.

[y] Ezek. xii. 13.

[z] 2 Kings xxv. 8—17. Jer. lii. 12—23.

building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect desolation; and so it continued for 52 years after, till by the favour of Cyrus, the Jews being released from their captivity, and restored again to their own land, repaired these ruins, and built again their holy city. In memory of this calamity, they keep two fasts, even to this day, the 17th of the 4th month (which falls in our June) for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the 9th of the fifth month (which falls in our July) for the destruction of the temple; both which are made mention of [a] in the prophecies of the prophet Zechariah, under the names of the fast of the 4th month, and the fast of the 5th month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the destruction of Jerusalem to his time, which was 70 years after. Josephus [b] remarks, that the burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar happened on the very same day of the year on which it was afterwards again burned by Titus.

Nebuzaraddon, having thus destroyed the city and the temple of Jerusalem, made all the people he found there captives. Of these, [c] he took Saraiah the high priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and about 70 others of the principal persons he found in the place, and carried them to Riblah to Nebuchadnezzar, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of [d] the rest of the people, he left the poorer sort to till the ground, and dress their vineyards, and made Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, governor over them, and all the other he carried away to Babylon.

But concerning Jeremiah, [e] Nebuchadnezzar gave particular charge to Nebuzaraddon, that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to Jerusalem, with commission to destroy the place, he and the princes that were with him sent and took him out of prison, where he had lain bound from the time that Zedekiah had put him there, and restored him to his liberty; and, having carried him with him as far as Ramah, on his return to Nebuchadnezzar, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to Babylon, where he should be well

[a] Zechariah viii. 19.
[b] De Bello Judaico, lib. vii. c. 10.
[c] 2 Kings xxv. 18—21. Jer. lii. 24—27.
[d] 2 Kings xxv. 22—25. Jer. xxxix. 9, 10. & lii. 15, 16.
[e] Jer. xxxix. 11—14. & xl. 1—6.

looked after, and maintained at the king's charge, or else remain in the land; and he having chosen the latter, Nebuzaradan gave him victuals and a reward, and sent him back to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, with an especial charge to take care of him.

After Nebuchadnezzar was returned to Babylon, [f] all those who before, for fear of the Chaldeans, had taken refuge among the neighbouring nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the desarts, after their escape, on the dispersion of Zedekiah's army in the plains of Jericho, hearing that Gedaliah was made governor of the land, resorted to him; and, he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them, that they should be safe under his government, they settled themselves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kereah, Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, Azariah the son of Hoshaiah, Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and others.

But [g] Ishmael came to him only out of a treacherous design; for, being of the seed-royal, he reckoned to make himself king of the land, now the Chaldeans were gone; and, for the accomplishing of it, had formed a conspiracy to kill Gedaliah, and seize the government; and Baalis, the king of the Ammonites, was confederated with him herein. But Johanan, the son of Kereah, having got notice of it, he, and all the chief men of the rest of the people, went to Gedaliah, and informed him of it, proposing to kill Ishmael, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But Gedaliah being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain jealousies of any one, would not believe this of Ishmael, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him; [h] of which Ishmael, taking the advantage, came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our September, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land, and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which Gedaliah had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him, and slew him, and, at the same time, slew also a great number of the Jews and Chaldeans, whom they found with him in Mizpah, and took the rest captive. And the next day, hearing of eighty men, who were going on a religious account, with offerings and incense

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[f] Jer. xl. 7—12. [g] Jer. xl. 13—16. [h] Jer. xli.

to the [i] house of God, they craftily drew them into Mizpah, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the redemption of their lives. And then taking with them all the captives, among whom were the daughters of King Zedekiah, they departed thence to go over to the Ammonites. But Johanan the son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after Ishmael; and, having overtaken him at Gibeon, retook all the captives; but he and eight of his men escaped to the Ammonites. This murder of Gedaliah happened two months after the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, in the said seventh month, and on the 30th day of the month. For that day the Jews have kept as a fast in commemoration of this calamity ever since; and [k] Zechariah also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of the *fast of the seventh month*; and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the completion of their ruin.

After this great misfortune, [l] Johanan, the son of Kereah, and the people that were left, fearing the king of Babylon, because of the murder of Gedaliah whom he had made governor of the land, departed from Mizpah, to flee into the land of Egypt, and came to Bethlehem in their way thither: where they stopping a while consulted the prophet Jeremiah (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to inquire of God in their behalf; who, after ten days, having received an answer from God, called them together, and told them, that if they would tarry in the land, all should go well with them, and God would shew mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the king of Babylon to be favourable unto them; but if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would, notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary, set their faces to go into the land of Egypt, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them: for, their hearts being violently bent to go into Egypt, they

[i] *i. e.* At Jerusalem; for though the temple were destroyed, yet the people that were left, continued to offer sacrifices and worship there on the place where it stood, as long as they remained in the land.

[k] Zechariah viii. 19. [l] Jeremiah lii.

would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told Jeremiah, that the answer which he gave them, was not from God, but was suggested to him by Baruch the son of Neriah for their hurt. And therefore Johanan the son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah, that were returned, from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the persons whom Nebuzaradan had left with Gedaliah, even men, women, and children, and the king's daughters, and also Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah, and went into Egypt, and settled in that country, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatened them with, for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them, to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed, and the whole land of Judah brought in a manner to utter desolation for the sins thereof.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH,
to the Time of CHRIST.

BOOK II.

IN the 12th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, one escaping from Jerusalem [a] came to Ezekiel in the land of the Chaldeans, and told him of the destruction of the city; whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest of the land of Judah, and utter destruction to the remainder of the Jews who were left therein.

An. 587. Nebuchadnezzar 18.

The same year Ezekiel prophesied against Egypt, and Pharaoh Hophra, the king thereof, that God would bring against him Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who should lay the land desolate; and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities; which is the subject of the 32d chapter of his prophecies.

The Jews which went into Egypt, [b] having settled at Migdol, and Tahpanhes, and Noph, and in the country of Path-

[a] Ezek. xxxiii. 21—29. [b] Jer. xliv. 1.

ros, *i. e.* at [c] Magdalum by the Red sea, at Daphne near Pelusium, at Memphis, and in the country of Thebais,) gave themselves there wholly up to idolatry, [d] worshipping the queen of heaven, and other false deities of the land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the [e] prophet Jeremiah cried aloud against this impiety, unto those among whom he lived, that is, those who had settled [f] in the land of Pathros or Thebais. (For this being the farthest from Judea of all the places where they had obtained settlements in that country, they had carried him thither, the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a declaration, that [g] they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry: for they told him, that it had been best with them, when they practised it in Judah and Jerusalem; that it was since their leaving it off, that all their calamities had happened unto them; and that therefore, they would no more hearken unto any thing, that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon [h] the word of the Lord came unto the prophet, denouncing utter destruction unto them by the sword, and by the famine, that thereby all of them, that is, all the men of Judah then dwelling in Egypt, should be consumed, excepting only some few, who should make their escape into the land of Judah. And, for a sign hereof, it was foretold unto them by the same prophet, that Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, in whom they trusted, should be given into the hands of his enemies, who sought his life, in the same manner as Zedekiah was given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, that sought his life; that so, when this should be brought to pass in their eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words which the Lord hath spoken against them, should certainly be fulfilled upon them; as accordingly they were, about 18 years afterwards.

After this there is no more mention of Jeremiah. It is most likely that he died in Egypt soon after, he being then much advanced in years: (for he had now prophesied 41 years from the 13th of Josiah,) and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities which happened to him-

[c] Vide Boch. Phal. p. 1. lib. 4. c. 27.
[d] Jer. xliv. 8, 15—19.
[e] Jer xliv. 1—15.
[f] Jer. xliv. 15.
[g] Jer. xliv. 16—19.
[h] Jer. xliv. 26—30.

self and his country. Tertullian, Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Jerome, and Zonaras, tell us, that he was stoned to death by the Jews, for preaching against their idolatry. And of this some interpret St. Paul's ἐλιθάσθησαν (*i. e.* they were stoned,) Heb. xi. 37: but others say, that he was put to death by Pharaoh Hophra, because of his prophecy against him. But these seem to be traditions, founded rather on conjecture than on any certain account of the matter.

Nebuchadnezzar, being returned to Babylon after the end of the Jewish war, and the full settling of his affairs in Syria and Palestine, did out of the spoils which he had taken in that expedition,[i] make that golden image to the honour of Bel his god, which he did set up, and dedicate to him in the plain of Dura: the history of which is at large related in the 3d chapter of Daniel: but how Daniel escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of inquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the idol, is most certain; it absolutely disagreeing with the character of that holy religious man, to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God, as such a compliance would have amounted unto; either, therefore, he was absent, or else, if present, was not accused. The latter seems most probable; for Nebuchadnezzar, having summoned all his princes, counsellors, governors, captains, and all other his officers and ministers, to be present, and assisting at the solemnity of this dedication, it is not likely, that Daniel, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present, therefore, seems most probable: but his enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the king; but rather to fall first on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case, quashed all further accusation about this matter; and for that reason it was, that Daniel is not at all spoken of in it.

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[i] In the Greek version of Daniel, chap. iii. 1. this is said to have been done in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar. But this is not in the original text; for in that no year at all is mentioned; and therefore it is most probable it crept into it from some marginal comment, for which, I doubt not, there was some very good authority. For, it could in no year of that king's reign fall more likely; and therefore according hereto I have here placed it.

Nebuchadnezzar, in the 21st year of his reign, according to the Jewish account, which was the 19th according to the Babylonish account, and the second from the destruction of Jerusalem, came again into Syria, and laid [k] siege to Tyre, Ithobal being then king of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself master of the place: for it was a strong and wealthy city, which had never as yet submitted to any foreign empire, and was [l] of great fame in those days for its traffic and merchandise, whereby several of its inhabitants had made themselves as great [m] as princes in riches and splendor. It [n] was built by the Zidonians, 240 years before the building of the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem: For Zidon [o] being then conquered and taken by the Philistines of Askelon, many of the inhabitants escaping thence in their ships, built Tyre; and therefore it was called by the prophet Isaiah [p] the daughter of Zidon: but it soon out-grew its mother in largeness, riches, and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty king, to whom all the east had then submitted.

An. 586. Nebuchadnezzar 19.

While Nebuchadnezzar lay at this siege, Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guards, being sent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of Israel, to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of Gedaliah, there being no other reason why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people, whom he himself had left and settled there. In which expedition [q] Nebuzardan, seizing upon all of the race of Israel, that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives, and sent them to Babylon. But they all amounted to no more than 745 persons, the rest having been all fled into Egypt, as hath been before related.

An. 584. Nebuchadnezzar 21.

By this last captivity was fully completed the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also completed the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets relating hereto;

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[k] Josephus Antiquities, book 10. chap. 11. et contra Apionem lib 1.

[l] Ezek. xxvi. & xxvii.

[m] Isa. xxiii. 8.

[n] Joseph. Antiq. b. 8. c. 2.

[o] Justin lib. 18. c. 3.

[p] Isa. xxiii. 12.

[q] Jer. lii. 30.

and particularly [r] that of Ezekiel, wherein God's forbearance of the house of Israel is limited to 390 days, and his forbearance of the house of Judah to 40 days. For, taking the days for years, according to the prophetic stile of scripture, from the apostasy of Jeroboam to the time of this last captivity, there will be just 390 years; and so long God bore the idolatry of the house of Israel; and from the 18th year of Josiah, [s] when the house of Judah entered into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time will be just 40 years; and so long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance, in respect of both being fully completed, he completed also the desolation of both in this last captivity, in which both had an equal share, part of them, who were now carried away, being of the house of Judah, and part of the house of Israel. There are others who end both the computations at the destruction of Jerusalem; and, to make their hypothesis good, they begin the 40 years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah from the mission of the prophet Jeremiah to preach repentance unto them, that is, from the 13th of Josiah, [t] when he was first called to this office; from which time, to the last year of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was destroyed, were exactly 40 years. And as to the 390 years forbearance of the house of Israel, according as they compute the time from Jeroboam's apostasy, they make this period to fall exactly right also, that is, to contain just 390 years from that time to the destruction of Jerusalem. But this period relating purely to the house of Israel, as contradistinct from the house of Judah, in this prophecy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of Jerusalem, in which the house of Israel had no concern: for Jerusalem was not within the kingdom of Israel, but within the kingdom of Judah, of which it was the metropolis; and therefore the latter only, and not the former, had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both; and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belonged to both. As to the computing of the 40 years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah from the mission of Jeremiah to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of Jerusalem, the number of years falls exactly right; and therefore, since [u] the 120 years of

[r] Ezek. iv. 1—8.
[s] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29—31.
[t] Jer. i. 2.
[u] Gen. vi. 3.

God's forbearance of the old world is reckoned from the like mission of Noah to preach repentance unto them, I should be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the 40 years of this forbearance of Judah by the forty years of Jeremiah's like preaching of repentance unto them; but it cannot be conceived, why Ezekiel should reckon the time of his mission by an æra from the 18th year of Josiah (for the 30th year on which he saith he was called to the prophetic office is certainly to be reckoned from thence,) unless it be with respect to the 40 years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah in his own prophecies.

After this, Nebuzaradan [x] marched against the Ammonites; and, having destroyed Rabbah, their royal city, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that country, he carried their king, and their princes, and most of the chief of the land, into captivity: and this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the murder of Gedaliah, the king of Babylon's governor in the land of Israel.

And, during this siege of Tyre, the other neighbouring nations, that is, the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Zidonians, seem also to have been harassed and broken by the excursions of the Babylonians, and to have had all those judgments executed upon them which we find in the prophecies of [y] Jeremiah and [z] Ezekiel, to have been denounced against them.

In the 14th year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the 25th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, were revealed unto the prophet Ezekiel all those visions and prophecies concerning the future state of the church of God, which we have from the 40th chapter of his prophecies to the end of that book. An. 574. Nebuchadnezzar 31.

This same year, the judgments which God had denounced, by the mouth of his prophets, against Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, king of Egypt, began to operate against him. For [a] the Cyrenians, a colony of the Greeks, that had settled in Africa, having taken from the Lybians (a neighbouring nation, lying between them and the Egyptians, and bordering upon both,) a great part of their land, and divided it among themselves, the Lybians made a surrender both of themselves and their country into the hands of Apries, to obtain his pro-

[x] Jer. xlix. 1—6. Ezek. xxv. 1—7. Amos 1. 14, 15.
[y] Jer. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. [z] Ezek. xxv.
[a] Herodot. lib. 2. & 4. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2

tection. Hereon Apries sent a great army into Lybia, to wage war against the Cyrenians; which, having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battle, were almost all cut off and destroyed, so that very few of them escaped the carnage, and returned again into Egypt: whereon the Egyptians, entertaining an opinion, that this army was sent by Apries into Lybia of purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them, embodying together, revolted from him. Apries, hearing of this, sent Amasis, an officer of his court, to appease them and reduce them again to their duty. But, while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of royalty, and declared him their king; which he accepting of staid among them, and increased the revolt. At which Apries, being much incensed, sent Paterbemis, another officer of his court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest Amasis, and bring him unto him; which he not being able to effect, in the midst of so great an army of conspirators as he found about him, was, on his return, very cruelly and unworthily treated by Apries; for, out of anger for his not effecting that for which he sent him, though he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his character and worth, so incensed the rest of the Egyptians, that they almost all joined with the conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon Apries, being forced to fly, made his escape into the Upper Egypt, towards the borders of Ethiopia; where he maintained himself for some years, while Amasis held all the rest.

But while this was a-doing in Egypt, at length, [b] in the 26th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, which was the 15th after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre, after a siege [c] of thirteen years continuance, and utterly destroyed the place, that is, the city which was on the continent; the ruins of which were afterwards called Palæ Tyrus, or Old Tyre. But, before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed most of their effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and there

An. 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

[b] Ezek. xxix. 17.

[c] Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

built them a new city. And therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar entered that, which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take; and therefore, wrecking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he razed the whole town to the ground, and slew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory; but the city on the island became the Tyre that was afterwards so famous by that name; the other on the continent never rising any higher, than to become a village by the name of Old Tyre, as was before said: That it was this Tyre only that Nebuchadnezzar besieged, and not the other on the island, appears from the description of the siege, which we have in Ezekiel. For thereby we find, that Nebuchadnezzar made [d] a fort against the place, and cast up a mount against it, and erected [e] engines of battery to break down its walls, which could not be said of the Tyre on the island; for that was all surrounded by the sea. And that he also took, and utterly destroyed that city, appears likewise from the writings [f] of the same prophet. But that the city on the island then escaped this fate, is manifest from the Phœnician histories; for in them after the death of Ithobal (who was [g] slain in the conclusion of this war,) we are told [h] that Baal succeeded in the kingdom, and reigned ten years, and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates, one after another, who, by the name of judges, had the government of the place. It is most probable, that, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken and destroyed the old town, those who had retired into the island came to terms, and submitted to him; and that thereon Baal was deputed to be their king under him, and reigned ten years: that, at the end of the said ten years (which happened in the very year that Nebuchadnezzar was again restored after his distraction,) Baal being then dead or deposed, the government, to make it the more dependent on the Babylonians, was changed into that of temporary magistrates; who instead of the name of kings, had only that of suffetes, or judges, given unto them; which was a name well known among the Carthaginians, who were descended of the Tyri-

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[d] Ezek. xxvi. 8.
[e] Ezek. xxvi. 9.
[f] Ezek. xxvi. 4. and 9—12.
[g] Ezek. xxviii. 8—10.
[h] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1.

ans; for so [j] their chief magistrates were called. It had its derivation from the Hebrew word Shophetim, *i. e.* judges, which was the very name whereby the chief governors of Israel were called for several generations, before they had kings. And under this sort of government the Tyrians seem to have continued for several years after, till they were restored to their former state by Darius Hystaspis seventy years after; as will, in its proper place, be hereafter related.

And here I cannot but observe, how exactly the chronology of the Phœnician annals agreeth with that of the holy scriptures. Ezekiel placeth the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar in the 26th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. For, in the first month, and in the first day of the month, of the 27th year, he speaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is, in the 26th of the said captivity. This fell in the [k] 32d year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account; from which year, according to Ptolemy's canon, the first year of Cyrus at Babylon will be the 36th, and so, according to the Phœnician annals, will it be exactly the same. For, [l] according to them, after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, Baal had the government of it ten years, and Ecnibal two months, Chalbes ten months, Abbar three months, Mitgonus and Jerastratus six years, Balator one year, Merball four years, and Hirom twenty years, in whose 14th year, say the same annals, Cyrus began his empire. And, putting all these together, the 14th of Hirom will be exactly the 36th year from the 32d of Nebuchadnezzar, which was the 26th of the captivity of Jehoiachin, the year, according to Ezekiel, in which Tyre was taken. And therefore, it doth hereby appear, that the said Phœnician annals place the taking of Tyre in the very same year that Ezekiel doth: for the 26th year from the captivity of Jehoiachin computed downward, in which Ezekiel placeth it, and the 36th year from the 14th of Hi-

[j] Livius, lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum qui summus est pœnis magistratus.* Vide etiam ejusdem lib. 30. et. lib. 34. ubi de suffetibus ut de summo apud Carthaginienses magistratu mentio fit.

[k] For the 37th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin being the last (which was the 43d) year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 27. and Jer. lii. 31.) the 26th year of the said captivity must be in the 32d of Nebuchadnezzar.

[l] Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1.

rom computed upward, in which the Phœnician annals place it, will be exactly the same year.

Nebuchadnezzar and his army having served so long before Tyre, [m] "till every head was bald and every shoulder peeled," through the lengths and hardships of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the Tyrians had saved the best of their effects in the island; God did, by the prophet Ezekiel, promise them the spoils of Egypt. And accordingly, this very same year, immediately after this siege was over, Nebuchadnezzar, taking the advantage of the intestine divisions which were then in that country, by reason of the revolt of Amasis, marched with his army thither, and overrunning the whole land, from [n] Migdol, or Magdolum, (which is at the first entering into Egypt,) even to Syene (which is at the farthest end of it towards the borders of Ethiopia,) he made [o] a miserable ravage and devastation therein, slaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the country to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in [p] forty years after. After this Nebuchadnezzar having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this country, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to terms with Amasis; and having confirmed him in the kingdom, as his deputy, returned to Babylon.

During this ravage of the land of Egypt by the Babylonians, most of the Jews, who had fled thither after the murder of Gedaliah, fell into their hands. [q] Many of them they slew; others they carried captive with them to Babylon. The few that escaped saved themselves by flying out of Egypt, and afterwards settled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

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[m] Ezek. xxxix. 18—20. & xxx. 1—19.

[n] Ezek. xxx. 6. Where observe this passage (from the tower of Syene) in the English translation of the Bible is wrong translated. For the Hebrew word Migdol, which is there translated tower, is the name of the city Magdolum, which was at the entrance of Egypt from Palestine, *i. e.* at the hither end of Egypt; whereas Syene was at the other end, upon the borders of Ethiopia, the translation ought to be thus (from Migdol to Syene,) that is, from one end of Egypt to the other.

[o] Ezek. xxix. 30—32.

[p] Ezek. xxix. 13.

[q] Jer. xliv. 27, 28.

After Nebuchadnezzar was gone out of Egypt, Apries, creeping out of his hiding places, got towards the sea-coasts, most likely into the parts of Lybia; and there [r] hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, marched against Amasis, and gave him battle near the city of Memphis; in which being vanquished and taken prisoner, he was carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace. And hereby were completed all the prophecies of the prophets [s] Jeremiah and [t] Ezekiel, which they had foretold both concerning him and his people; especially that of Jeremiah, relating to his death, whereby it was foreshewn, [u] "That God would give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them that sought his life, as he gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, his enemy, that sought his life:" Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by Amasis in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him [x] by Herodotus, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his kingdom, so surely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the prophet Ezekiel chargeth him with saying, [y] "The river is mine, and I have made it." For the first 20 years of his reign, he had enjoyed as prosperous a fortune as most of his predecessors, having [z] had many successes against the Cypriots, the Zidonians, the Philistines, and other nations; but after he took on himself, Caligula like, to be thought as a god, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit which I have related. After his death, [a] Amasis, without any farther opposition, became possessed of the whole kingdom of Egypt, and held it from the death of Apries, 44 years. This happened in the 19th year after the destruction of Jerusalem.

An. 570. Nebuchadnezzar 35.

In the same 19th year, Nebuchadnezzar being returned from this Egyptian expedition to Babylon, had there the

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[r] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2.
[s] Chap. xliii, xliv, xlv.
[t] Chap. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii.
[u] Jer. xliv. 30.
[x] Herodotus lib. 2.
[y] Ezek. xxix. 9.
[z] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part. 2. Jer. xlvii. 1.
[a] Herodotus, ibid. Diodorus, ibid.

dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof; of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the 4th chapter of Daniel.

Nebuchadnezzar being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at Babylon. [b] Semiramis is said by some, and [c] Belus by others, to have first founded this city. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was Nebuchadnezzar that made it one of the wonders of the world. The [d] most famous works therein, were, 1*st*, the walls of the city; 2*dly*, the temple of Belus; 3*dly*, his palace, and the hanging gardens in it; 4*thly*, the banks of the river; and, 5*thly*, the artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any king before him. And, excepting the walls of China, nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equalled to him herein.

1*st*, The walls were every way prodigious: for they [e] were in thickness 87 feet, in height 350 feet, and in compass 480 furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. This is Herodotus' account of them, who was himself at Babylon, and is the most ancient author that hath wrote of this matter. And although there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most that agree in any measures of those walls give us [f] the same, or very near the same, he doth. Those who lay the height of them at 50 cubits, speak of them only as they were, after the time of Darius Hystaspis: for the Babylonians having revolted from him, and, in confidence of their strong walls, stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down the walls to the height last mentioned; and beyond this they were never after raised. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of [g] an exact square, each side of which was 120 furlongs, or 15 miles in

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[b] Herodot. lib. 1. Ctesias, Justin, lib. 1. c. 2.

[c] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Abydenus ex Megasthene apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib.

[d] Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Abydeneus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[e] Herodotus, lib. 1.

[f] Plinius, lib. 6. c. 26. Philostratus, lib. i. c. 18.

[g] Herodotus, lib. 3.

length, and [h] all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the brick or stones themselves which it cements together. These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a scarp or counterscarp, and the earth which was dug out of it, made the bricks, wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch. In every side of this great square were 25 gates, that is, an 100 in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that, when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, "that he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass," (Isa. xlv. 2.) Between every two of these gates, were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; and every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only [i] of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers: for some parts of them lying against morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence; and therefore in them there were none built; for the whole number of them amounted to no more than 250; whereas, had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more. From the 25 gates on each side of this great square, went 25 streets in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the streets were 50, each fifteen miles long, whereof 25 went one way, and 25 the other, [k] directly

[h] Herodot. lib. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo, lib. 16. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. Arianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

[i] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

[k] Herodotus, lib. 1. Much, according to this model, hath William Pen the quaker laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pensilvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world. For it lieth between two navigable rivers, at the distance of two miles from their confluence, and consists of thirty streets, ten of which being drawn

crossing each other at right angles. And besides these, there were also four half streets, which were built but of one side, as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and [l] were each of them 200 feet broad, and the rest were about 150. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into 676 squares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares, on every side, towards the streets, stood the houses, all built 3 or 4 stories high, and beautified [m] with all manner of adornments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A branch of the river Euphrates, did run quite across the city, entering in on the north side, and going out on the south; over which,

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from river to river are two miles long, and the twenty others being drawn across the said ten, and cutting them at right angles, are a mile long. In the midst of the whole is left a square of ten acres, and in the middle of the four quarters of the town, into which it is equally divided, is a square of five acres; which void places are designed for the building churches, schools, and other public buildings, and also to serve for the inhabitants to walk, and other ways divert themselves in them, in the same manner as Moorfields do in London. Above two thousand houses are in this place already built, and when it shall be wholly built according to the plan above-mentioned, it will be the glory of all that part of the world; and if the country round it comes to be thoroughly inhabited, the great conveniency of its situation for trade by reason of the two navigable rivers on which it stands, and the great river Delaware, into which both fall within two miles of it, will soon draw people enough thither, not only to finish the scheme, which hath been laid of it by its first founder, but also to enlarge it by such additions on each side, as to make its breadth answer its length: and then, barring the walls and greatness of Babylon, it will imitate it in all things else, and in the conveniency of its situation far exceed it. But this is to be understood as a comparing of a small thing with a great. For though Philadelphia were built and inhabited to the utmost I have mentioned, that is to the full extent of two miles in breadth as well as in length, yet fifty-six of such cities might stand within those walls that encompassed Babylon.

[l] *Two plethra*, saith Diodorus, that is 200 feet, for a plethrum contained 100 feet.

[m] Herodotus, lib. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1.

in the middle of the city was a bridge of [n] a furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with [o] wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the two ends of the bridge were [p] two palaces, the old palace on the east side, and the new palace on the west side of the river; the former of these took up [q] four of the squares above mentioned, and the other [r] nine of them; and the temple of Belus, which stood next the old palace, took up another of these squares. The whole city stood on a [s] large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it [t] which was on the east side of the river, was the old city; the other on the west side was added by Nebuchadnezzar. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The pattern hereof seemeth to have been taken from Nineveh, that having been exactly [u] 480 furlongs round as this was. For Nebuchadnezzar having, in conjunction with his father, destroyed that old royal seat of the Assyrian empire, resolved to make this which he intended should succeed it in that dignity altogether as large; only, whereas Nineveh was [x] in the form of a parallelogram, he made Babylon in that of an exact square; which figure rendered it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reason that Nebuchadnezzar, out of Judea and other conquered countries, carried so great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous as it was great, there was no country in all the east could better, than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people, as must

[n] Strabo saith, that the river which passed through Babylon, was a furlong broad (lib. 16.); but Diodorus saith (lib. 2.) that the bridge was five furlongs long: if so, it must be much longer than the river was broad.

[o] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. Herodotus, lib. 1.

[p] Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

[q] It was 30 furlongs in compass, Diodorus Sicul. lib. 2.

[r] It was 60 furlongs in compass, Diodor. ibid.

[s] Herodotus, lib. 1.

[t] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

[u] Diodorus, ibid.

[x] Two of its sides were each 150 furlongs long, and the other but 80 each, Diodor. ibid.

then have been in it: for the fertility of this province was so great, [y] that it yielded to the Persian kings during their reign over Asia, half as much as did all that large empire besides; the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundred fold every crop. But it never happened to have been [y] fully inhabited; it not having had time enough to grow up thereto; for, within 25 years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the royal seat of the empire was removed from thence to Shushan by Cyrus; which did put an end to the growing glory of Babylon; for after that it never more flourished. When Alexander came to Babylon, Curtius tells us, [z] no more than 90 furlongs of it was then built; which can no otherwise be understood, than of so much in length; and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length (which is the utmost that can be allowed,) it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon; but the whole space within the walls contained 14,400 square furlongs; and therefore there must have been 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which Curtius [z] tells us were plowed and sown. And, besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are: *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per* 90 *stadia, habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi; i. e.* 'Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited; but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other.' Which words, (they thought it safest) are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other inconveniencies are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason Delhi, the capital of India, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house that is built in them. And old Rome was built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together, it will

[y] Herodotus, lib. 1. [z] Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

appear, that Babylon was so large a city, rather in scheme than in reality. For, according to this account, it must be by much the larger part that was never built; and therefore, in this respect, it must give place to Nineveh, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand, and their left, which the scriptures tell us were 120,000 in the time of Jonah, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended indeed, that Babylon should have exceeded it in every thing. But Nebuchadnezzar did not live long enough, nor the Babylonish empire last long enough, to finish the scheme that was first drawn of it.

The next great work of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon was the temple [a] of Belus. But that which was most remarkable in it, was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, [b] it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight towers, one built above over the other. Some following a mistake of the Latin version of Herodotus, wherein the lowest of these towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the Greek of Herodotus, which is the authentic text of that author, saith no such thing, but only, that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And Strabo, in his description of it, calling it a pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching-in at every tower, [c] saith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these authors for it, much more, when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by Strabo, it was prodigious enough: for, according to his dimensions only, without adding any thing farther, it was one of the most wonderful works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides.

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[a] Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.
[b] Herodotus, lib. 1.
[c] Strabo, lib. 16.

For [d] although it fell short of that pyramid at the basis, (where that was a square of 700 feet on every side, and this but of 600,) yet it far exceeded it in the height; the perpendicular measure of the said pyramid being no more than 481 feet, whereas that of the other was full 600; and therefore it was higher than that pyramid by 119 feet, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore it was not without reason, that [e] Bochartus asserts it to have been the very same tower which was there built at the confusion of tongues. For it was prodigious enough to answer the scriptures description of it; and it is particularly attested by several authors to have been all built [f] of bricks and bitumen, as the scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. Herodotus saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it; from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by the benching-in drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; that this made the appearance of eight towers one above another, in the same manner as we have the tower of Babel commonly described in pictures; saving only, that whereas that is usually pictured round, this was square. For such a benching-in drawn in a slope eight times round in manner as aforesaid, would make the whole seem on every side as consisting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be so much less than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight towers being as so many stories one above another, were each of them 75 feet high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple, after the tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, [g] by the benefit of which it was, that the Babylonians advanced their skill in astronomy beyond all other nations, and came to so early a perfection in it, as is related. For when Alexander took Babylon, Calisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astronomical observations for 1903 years backwards from that time: which

[d] See Mr Greave's description of the pyramids, p. 68, 69.

[e] Phaleg. part 1. lib. 1. c. 9.

[f] Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

[g] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 98.

carrieth up the account as high as the 115th year after the flood, which was within 15 years after the tower of Babel was built. For the confusion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, happened in the year wherein Peleg was born, which was 101 years after the flood, and 14 years after that these observations began. This account Calisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece, to his master Aristotle; as Symplicius, from the authority of Porphyry, delivers it unto us in his second book De Cœlo. Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the temple of Belus contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But [h] he enlarged it, by vast buildings erected round it, in [i] a square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in circumference, which was 1800 feet more than [k] the square at the temple of Jerusalem: for that was but 3000 feet round; whereas this was, according to this account, 4800. And, on the outside of all these buildings, there was a wall inclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and an half in compass; in which were several gates leading into the temple, all [l] of solid brass; and the brasen sea, the brasen pillars, and the other brasen vessels, which were carried to Babylon from the temple of Jerusalem, seem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar did put all the sacred vessels, which he carried from Jerusalem, [m] into the house of his god at Babylon, that is, into this house or temple of Bel; for that was the name of the great god of the Babylonians. He is supposed to have been the same with Nimrod, and to have been called Bel from his dominion, and Nimrod from his rebellion: for Bel, or Baal, which is the same name, signifieth lord, and Nimrod, a rebel, in the Jewish and Chaldean languages: the former was his Babylonish name, by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his scripture name, by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs. This

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[h] Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

[i] Herodotus, lib. 1.

[k] For it was a square of 500 cubits on every side, and 2000 in the whole, *i. e.* 3000 feet. See Lightfoot's description of the temple of Jerusalem.

[l] Herodot. lib. 1.

[m] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7.

temple stood till the time of Xerxes: but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, [n] demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbish; having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold, and one of them is said, by [o] Diodorus Siculus, to have been 40 feet high, which might perchance have been that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is said indeed in scripture to have been 60 cubits, *i. e.* 90 feet high: But that must be understood of the image and pedestal both together: for that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been 60 cubits high; for that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was measured is not said: perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder; and then the proportion, of six cubits breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure which Diodorus hath mentioned: for the usual height of a man being four and an half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six cubits broad between the shoulders, it must, according to this proportion, have been 27 cubits high, which is 40½ feet. Besides, Diodorus [p] tells us, that this image of 40 feet high, contained 1000 Babylonish talents of gold, which, according to Pollux, (who, in his Onomasticon, reckons a Babylonish talent to contain 7000 Attic drachma's, *i. e.* 875 ounces) [q] amounts to three millions and an half of our money. But, if we advance the height of the statue to 90 feet without the pedestal, it will increase the value to a sum incredible; and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by Daniel. Other images and sacred utensils were also in that temple, all of solid gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by Diodorus contain 5030 talents, which, with the 1000 talents in the image above mentioned, amount

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[n] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Herodot. lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

[o] Lib. 2. [p] Lib. 2.

[q] This is according to the lowest computation, valuing an Attic drachm at no more than seven-pence halfpenny, whereas Dr. Bernard reckons it to be eight-pence farthing, which would amount the sum much higher.

to above 21 millions of our money. And, besides this, we may well suppose the value of as much more in treasure and utensils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the collection of near 2000 years; for so long that temple had stood. All this Xerxes took away, when he destroyed it. And perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expence which he had been at in his Grecian expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, [r] purposed again to have rebuilt it: and, in order hereto, he did set 10,000 men on work to rid the place of its rubbish: but, after they had laboured herein two months, Alexander died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking; and this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that city the seat of his empire, as it was [s] supposed he would, the glory of Babylon would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height that ever Nebuchadnezzar intended to have brought it to, and it would again have been the queen of the East.

Next this temple, [t] on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, being four miles in compass. Exactly over against it, on the other side of the river, [u] stood the new palace; and this was that [x] which Nebuchadnezzar built. It was four times as big as the former, as being [y] eight miles in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified, according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging-gardens, which were of so celebrated a name among the Greeks. They [z] contained a square of four plethra (that is, of 400 feet) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was

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[r] Strabo, lib. 16. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

[s] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 731.

[t] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostrat. lib. 1. c. 18.

[u] Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

[x] Berosus apud Joseph. lib. 10. c. 11.

[y] Diodor. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 1.

[z] Diodor. Sic, lib. 2. Strabo, lib, 16. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c, 1.

sustained by vast arches built upon arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of 22 feet in thickness. The floors of every one of these terraces were laid in the same manner; which was thus: On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, 16 feet long, and four broad, and over them was a laver of reed, mized with a great quantity of bitumen, over which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together by plaster, and then over all were laid thick sheets of lead, and, lastly, upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden: and all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greatest trees to take rooting in it; and such were planted all over it in every terrace, as were also all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrace there was an aqueduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. Amyitis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country, as hath been before related,) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that country, and therefore desired to have something like it at Babylon: and to gratify her herein was the reason of erecting this monstrous work of vanity.

The other works attributed to him, by [a] Berosus and [b] Abydenus, were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for draining of it in the times of overflows: for, [c] on the coming on of the summer, the sun melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of June, July, and August, which, running into the Euphrates, makes it overflow all its banks during that season, in the same manner as doth the river Nile in Egypt; whereby the city and country of Babylon suffering great damage, for [d] the preventing hereof, he did, a great way up the

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[a] Apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. et contra Apionem lib. 1.

[b] Apud Eusebium Præpar. Evang. lib. 9.

[c] Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

[d] Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

stream, cut out of it, on the east side, two artificial canals, thereby to drain off these overflowings into the Tigris, before they should reach Babylon. The [c] farthest of these was the current which did run into the Tigris near Seleucia, and the other that which, taking its course between the last mentioned and Babylon, discharged itself into the same river over against Apamia; which being very large, and navigable for great vessels, [f] was from thence called Naharmalcha, that is, in the Chaldean language, the royal river. This is said to have been made by [g] Gobaris, or Gobrias, who, being the governor of the province, had the overseeing of the work committed to his care, and seemeth to have been the same who afterwards, on a great wrong done him, revolted from the Babylonians to Cyrus, as will be hereafter related. And, for the farther securing of the country, Nebuchadnezzar built [h] also prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each side of the river, to keep it within its channel, which [i] were carried along from the head of the said canals down to the city, and some way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city itself: for there, [k] on each side of the river, he built from the bottom of it a great wall, for its bank, of brick and bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the walls of the city; and, over against every street that crossed the said river, he made, on each side, a brazen gate in the said wall, and stairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, [l] which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work [l] was carried on, on both sides of the river, to the length of 160 furlongs, which is 20 miles of our measure; and therefore must have been begun two miles and an half above the city, and continued down two miles and an half below it; for through the city was no more than 15 miles.

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[c] Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26.

[f] Abydenus, ibid. Ptol. ibid. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. Polybius, lib. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747. Isidorus Characenus de Stathmis Parthicis.

[g] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

[h] Abydenus, ibid.

[i] Herodotus, lib. 1.

[k] Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

[l] Diodorus, lib. 2. p. 96.

While these banks were a building, the river was turned another way: for which purpose, to the west of Babylon [m], was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was, [n] according to the lowest computation, 40 miles square, and 160 in compass; and in depth 35 feet, saith Herodotus; 75, saith Megasthenes. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the banks that were cast up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the said river, in the time of its increase, might not, through the gates above mentioned, overflow the city, this lake, with the canal leading thereto, was still preserved, and proved the best and the most effectual means to prevent it; for whenever the river rose to such an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged itself, by this canal, into the lake, through a passage in the bank of the river, at the head of the said canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake, at the time of these overflowings, was there kept all the year, as in a common reservatory, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at all convenient times, for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally served the convenience of Babylon, and also the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them: though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both; for it afforded to Cyrus the means of taking the city, and, in the effecting thereof, became the cause of drowning a great part of that country, which was never after again recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, attribute all these works to Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus tells us, that the bridge, the river banks, and the lake, were the work of Nitocris, his daughter-in-law. Perhaps Nitocris finished what

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[m] Abydenus, ibid. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus, ibid.

[n] According to Herodotus, this lake was 420 furlongs square, *i. e.* 52 miles and an half on every side, and then the whole compass must be 210 miles; but, according to Megasthenes, the whole compass was but 40 parasanga, *i. e*, 160 miles, for each parasanga contained 4 of our miles.

Nebuchadnezzar had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her, with that historian, the honour of the whole.

All the flat whereon Babylon stood being, by reason of so many rivers and canals running through it, made in many places marshy, especially near the said rivers and canals, this caused it to abound much in willows; and therefore it is called in scripture, *The valley of willows*, (for so the words, Isa. xv. 7. which we translate, *the brook of the willows*, ought to be rendered:) and, for the same reason, the Jews (Psal. cxxxvii. 1, 2.) are said, when they were by the rivers of Babylon, in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that is, because of the abundance of them which grew by those rivers.

At the end[o] of twelve months after Nebuchadnezzar's last dream, while he was walking in his palace at Babylon, most likely in his hanging-gardens, and in the uppermost terrace of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole city, he proudly boasting of his great works done therein, said,[p] "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" But, while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him, that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years, have his dwelling with the wild beasts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon, his senses being taken from him, he fell into a distracted condition; and, continuing so for seven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating grass like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground, in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws. But, at the end of seven years, his understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his kingdom, and his former majesty and honour re-established on him. And hereon, being made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlasting dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did, by a public decree, make acknowledgement hereof through all the Baby-

An. 569. Nebuchadnezzar 36.

An. 563. Nebuchadnezzar 42.

[o] Daniel iv.

[p] Daniel iv. 30.

lonish empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy in his late restoration shewn upon him.

After this he lived only one year, and died, having reigned, according to the Babylonish account, from the death of his father, 43 years, and according to the Jewish account, from his first coming with an army into Syria, 45 years. His death happened about the end of the year, a little before the conclusion of the 37th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the east for many ages before him. Megasthenes [q] prefers him for his valour to Herculus. But his greatness, riches, and power, did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at Babylon above described, which, for many ages after, were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is [r] said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the Persians, and their bringing of the Babylonians in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more, than what he had been informed of by Daniel the prophet, and, in the interpretation of his dreams, been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within 23 years after.

An. 562. Nebuchadnezzar 43.

On the death of this great prince, [s] Evilmerodach his son succeeded him in the Babylonish empire; and, as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison, after he had lain there near 37 years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at table, and placing him there before all the other kings and great men of his empire, that came to him to Babylon, and also made him a daily allowance to support him, with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. Jerome [t] tells us, from an ancient tradition of the Jews, that Evilmerodach, having had the government of the Babylonish empire during his father's distraction, administered it so ill, that, as soon as the old king came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment happening to be the same where Jehoiachin had long lain, he there entered into

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1.

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[q] Abydenus ib. Joseph. Antiqu. lib. 10. c. 11. Strabo, lib. 15. p. 687.

[r] Abydenus, ibid.

[s] 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jeremiah lii. 31. Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. et Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[t] Comment. in Esaiam xiv. 19.

a particular acquaintance and friendship with him; and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterwards shewed him. And since the old historical traditions of the Jews [u] are often quoted in the New Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded, and that especially since the mal-administrations, which Evilmerodach was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he [x] proved a very profligate and vicious prince, and for that reason was called Evilmerodach, that is, foolish Merodach; for his proper name was only Merodach. But, whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he shewed to the captive prince, as soon as his father was dead. So that the last year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was the last of the 37 years of Jehoiachin's captivity; and this shews us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the Babylonish and Jewish history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the 7th year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account, [y] in the beginning of the Jewish year, that is, in the month of April according to our year, Jehoiachin was carried captive to Babylon. And therefore the first year of his captivity, beginning in the month of April, in the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar, the 37th year of it must begin in the same month of April, in the 43d year of Nebuchadnezzar; towards the end whereof that great king dying, with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of Evilmerodach; and the March following, [z] that is, on the 27th day of the 12th or last month of the Jewish year, Jehoiachin was, by the great favour of the new king released from his captivity, in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully completed 37 years in it.

An. 561. Evilmerodach 1.

" In the same year, which was the first of Evilmerodach at Babylon, [a] Crœsus succeeded Alyattes his father in the kingdom of Lydia, and reigned there 14 years. This was the 28th year after the de-

[u] By St. Stephen, Acts vii. By St. Paul, Hebrews xi. 35—37. and to Timothy, Eph. iii. 8. and by St. Jude 9, 14, 15.

[x] Berosus, ibid.

[y] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. For there it is said, that it was at the return of the year.

[z] 2 Kings xxxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31. [a] Herodotus, lib. 1.

struction of Jerusalem, and the 46th of the 70 years captivity of Judah.

When Evilmerodach had reigned two years at Babylon, his lusts, and his other wickedness, made him so intolerable, [b] that at length even his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death, and [c] Neriglissar his sister's husband, who was the head of the conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead. And since it is said, that Jehoiachin was fed [d] by him until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence, that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else, as a favourite, was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning him; for it is therein denounced against him, [e] that he should not prosper in his days; which could not be so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that prosperity which Evilmerodach advanced him unto. An. 559. Neriglissar 1.

On the death of Jehoiachin, Salathiel, his son, [f] became the nominal prince of the Jews after him. For, after the loss of the authority, they still kept up the title; and for a great many ages after, in the parts about Babylon, there was always one of the house of David, which by the name of [g] *The Head of the captivity*, was acknowledged and honoured as a prince among that people, and had some sort of jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the princes that reigned in that country. And it is said, this [h] pageantry is still kept up among them; and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the Christians, when they urge the prophecy of Jacob against them: for, whensoever, from that prophecy, it is pressed upon them, that the Messiah must be come, because the sceptre is now departed from Judah,

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[b] Berosus ibid. Megasthenes apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[c] Berosus ibid. Ptol. in Canone. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. Megasthenes, ibid.

[d] Jer. lii. 33.

[e] Jer. xxii. 30.

[f] 2 Esdras v. 16.

[g] Vide Notas Constantini L' empereur ad Benj. Itinerarium p. 192, &c.

[h] Vid. Jacobi Altingi librum Shilo, lib. 1. c. 3, 13, 14, &c. Et Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 7. §. 5.

and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *This Head of the captivity;* their usual answer being, that the sceptre is still preserved among them in *The Head of the captivity;* and that they have also in their [i] Nasi, or prince of the Sanhedrim (another peageantry officer of theirs,) a lawgiver from between the feet of Judah (that is of his seed) still remaining in Israel. But if these officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also; and the prophecy returns in its full force upon them; and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

The same year that Evilmerodach was slain, died [k] Astyages, king of Media, and after him succeeded Cyaxares the second, his son, in the civil government of the kingdom, and Cyrus, his grandson, by his daughter Mandana in the military. Cyrus at this time was [l] 40 years old, and Cyaxares [m] 41. And from this year, those who reckon to Cyrus a reign of 30 years begin that computation. For Neriglissar, on his coming to the crown, [n] making great preparations for a war against the Medes, Cyaxares called Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance, and on his arrival with an army of 30,000 Persians, Cyaxares made him general of the Medes also, and sent him with the joint forces of both nations to make war against the Babylonians. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as king over both these nations; although, in reality the regal power was solely in Cyaxares, and Cyrus was no more than general of the confederate army under him. But, after his death, he succeeded him in the kingdom of the Medes, as he did his father a little before in that of Persia; which, with the countries he had conquered, made up the Persian empire, of which he was the founder and first monarch.

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[i] Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinnicum, p. 1399. & Seldenum de Synedris, lib. 2. c. 6.

[k] Cyropedia, lib. 1.

[l] Cicero, lib. 1. De Divinatione dicit de Cyro—Ad Septuagesimum prevenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cœpisset.

[m] For he was 62 when he began to reign in Babylon, after the death of Belshazzar, Dan. v. 31, which being nine years before Cyrus' death (who lived 70 years,) it must follow that Cyrus was then 61, and therefore when he was 40, Cyaxares must have been 41.

[n] Cyropedia, lib. 1.

He was a very extraordinary person in the age in which he lived, for wisdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being [o] the restorer of the state of Israel, but especially in being there appointed for it [p] by name many years before he was born; which is an honour therein given to none, save only to him, and [q] Josiah, king of Judah. He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) on the same year in which Jehoiachin died. It is on all hands agreed, that his mother was Mandana, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, and his father Cambyses a Persian.

But whether this Cambyses was king of that country, or only a private person, is not agreed. Herodotus, and those who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private nobleman, of the family of Achæmenes, one of the most ancient in that country. But Xenophon's account makes him king of the Persians, but subject to the Medes. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great prince, the relations of these two historians are very much different. But Herodotus' account of him containing narratives which are much more strange and surprising, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, most have chosen rather to follow him, then Xenophon, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by Plato, in his [r] giving a character of Xenophon's history of Cyrus (in which he was also followed by Tully,) [s] as if therein, under the name of Cyrus, he rather drew a description of what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. It must be acknowledged, that Xenophon being a great commander, as well as a great philosopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that history, and to make it a vehicle for this, perchance was his whole design in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may be all true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; and that it was so, its agreeableness with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reason why he chose the life of Cyrus, before all others, for the purpose above mentioned, seemeth to be no other, but that he found

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[o] Ezra i.
[p] Is. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.
[q] 1 Kings xiii. 2.
[r] De Legibus, lib. 3.
[s] Ep. 1. ad Quintum fratrem.

the true history of that excellent and gallant prince to be above all others the fittest for those maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the descants, discourses, and speeches interspersed in that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of Xenophon's addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that author as the true history of Cyrus. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than Herodotus. For Herodotus having travelled through Egypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did, as travellers use to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But Xenophon was a man of another character, [t] who wrote all things with great judgment, and due consideration; and, having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, a descendant of the Cyrus whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great prince, than Herodotus was; and confining himself to this argument only, no doubt, he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large, as they came in his way. And for these reasons, in all things relating to this prince, I have chosen to follow Xenophon, rather than any of those who differ from him.

For the first [u] 12 years of his life, Cyrus lived in Persia with his father, and was there educated, after the Persian manner, in hardship, and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of Persia did then extend only to one province of that large country, which hath been since so called: for then the whole nation of the Persians could number no more than [x] 120,000 men. But afterwards, when, by the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, they had obtained the empire of the East, the name of Persia became enlarged with their fortunes; and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract, which is extended east and west from the river Indus to the

[t] Diog. Laertius in vita Xenophontis.
[u] Cyropedia, lib. 1.
[x] Cyropedia, lib. 1.

Tygris, and north and south from the Caspian sea to the ocean; and so much that name comprehends even to this day. After Cyrus was twelve years old, he was sent for into Media by Astyages, his grandfather, with whom he continued five years: and there, by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the Medes to him, and gained such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage, for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the 16th year of his age, Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Assyria, being abroad on an hunting expedition, a little before his marriage, for a shew of his bravery, made an inroad into the territories of the Medes, which drew out [y] Astyages with his forces to oppose him. On which occasion, Cyrus, accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war; in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory which was at that time gained over the Assyrians was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after, he went home to his father into Persia, and there continued till the 40th year of his life; at which time he was called forth to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares, on the occasion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of Persia with his army, and behaved himself so wisely, that, from this small beginning in 20 years time, he made himself master of the greatest empire that had ever been erected in the East to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that, upon the strength of this foundation only, it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men that ever governed an empire) through all that time to overthrow it.

Neriglissar, upon intelligence that Cyrus was come with so great an army to the assistance of the Medes, farther to strengthen himself against them, [z] sent ambassadors to the Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and other neighbouring nations, to call them to his aid; and, by representing to them the strength of the enemy, and the necessity of

An. 588. Neriglissar 2.

[y] From hence it may be inferred, that Evilmerodach was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar by Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages but by some other wife, it not being likely that the grandfather and grandson would thus engage in war against each other.

[z] Cyropedia, lib. 1.

maintaining the balance of power against them, for the common good of Asia, drew them all into confederacy with him for the ensuing war. Whereon the king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the Medes, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore [a] refused any longer to pay his tribute, or send his quota of auxiliaries for the war, on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous consequence to the Medes, in the example it might give to other dependent states to do the same, Cyrus thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; and therefore, marching immediately with the best of his horse, and covering his design under the pretence of an hunting match, [b] entered Armenia, before there was any intelligence of his coming, and, having surprised the revolted king, took him and all his family prisoners; and, after this, having seized the hills towards Chaldea, and planted good forts and garrisons on them, for the securing of the country against the enemy on that side, he came to new terms with the captive king; and, having received from him the tribute and auxiliaries which he demanded, he restored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the rest of his army in Media. This happened about the 3d year of the reign of Neriglissar, and the 32d after the destruction of Jerusalem.

An. 557. Neriglissar 3.

After both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the 4th year of Neriglissar, the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, [c] and it came to a fierce battle between them; in which Neriglissar being slain, the rest of the Assyrian army was put to the rout, and Cyrus had the victory. Crœsus, king of Lydia, after the death of Neriglissar, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following, Cyrus, pursuing after them, overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage; which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the Hyrcanians, who had

An. 556. Neriglissar 4.

[a] Cyropedia, lib. 2.
[b] Cyropedia, lib. 3.
[c] Cyropedia, lib. 3. & 4.

the night before revolted to him. Hereon Crœsus, taking his flight out of Assyria, made the best of his way into his own country. He, being aware of what might happen, had, the night before, sent away his women, and the best of his baggage; and therefore, in this respect, escaped much better than the rest of the confederates.

The death of Neriglissar was a great loss to the Babylonians; for he was [a] a very brave and excellent prince. The preparations which he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it: and, therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing else, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of Cyrus, whom God had designed for the empire of the East, and therefore nothing was to withstand him. But nothing made the loss of Neriglissar more appear, than the succeeding of Laborosoarchod his son in the kingdom after him; for he was [b] in every thing the reverse of his father, being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice, to which, on his advancement to the throne, he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the regal office, which he was now advanced to, were for nothing else but to give him a privilege of doing, without control, all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two acts of his tyrannical violence towards two of his principal nobility, Gobrias and Gadates, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild beast, when he himself had missed it. And the other he caused to be castrated, only because one of his concubines had commended him for an handsome man. These wrongs done those two noblemen drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to Cyrus; and the whole state of the Babylonish empire suffered by it: for Cyrus, encouraged hereby, [c] penetrated into the very heart of the enemy's country, first taking possession of the province, and garrisoning the castles of Gobrias, and afterward doing the same in the province and castles of Gadates. The Assyrian king was before him in the latter, to be revenged on Gadates for his revolt. But Cyrus, on his coming, having put him to the rout,

[a] Cyropedia, lib. 4.
[b] Cyropedia, lib. 4, & 5.
[c] Cyropedia, lib. 5.

and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to Babylon. After Cyrus had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole country, and twice shewn himself before the walls of Babylon, to provoke the enemy to battle, at the end of the year, he led back his army again towards Media; and, ending the campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, there entered into winter-quarters, and sent for Cyaxares, to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war.

As soon as Cyrus was retreated, Laborosoarchod, being now freed from the fear of the enemy, gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him; which carried him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those, which Gobrias and Gadates had suffered from him, that, being no longer tolerable, his [d] own people conspired against him, and slew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the canon of Ptolemy; for it is the method of that canon, to ascribe all the year to him that was king in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor, but from the first day of the year ensuing; and therefore, if any king reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the canon at all. And this was the case of Laborosoarchod: for Neriglissar his father being slain in battle, in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began: and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of Neriglissar, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor: and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that canon.

After him succeeded [e] Nabonadius, and reigned seventeen years. [f] Berosus calls him Nabonnedus, Megasthenes [g] Nabonnidochus, Herodotus [h] Mabynetus, and Josephus [i] Naboandelus, who, he saith, is the same with Belshazzar. And there is as great a difference

An. 555. Belshaz. 1.

[d] Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

[e] Canon Ptolemæi.

[f] Apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

[g] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

[h] Herodotus, lib. 1.

[i] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called Some [k] will have him to be of the royal blood of Nebuchadnezzar, and [l] others no way at all related to him. And some say [m] he was a Babylonian, and others [n] that he was of the seed of the Medes. And of those who allow him to have been of the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, some will have it that he was his son, and others, that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter, these following particulars are to be taken notice of: 1*st*, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the Babylonish kings. 2*dly*, That therefore he must have been the same who in scripture is called Belshazzar: for, immediately after the death of Belshazzar, the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians (Dan. v. 28, 30, 31.) 3*dly*, That he was of the seed of Nebuchadnezzar; for he is called his son, and Nebuchadnezzar is said to be his father, in several places of the same 5th chapter of Daniel; and in the 2d book of Chronicles (chap. xxxvi. 20.) it is said that Nebuchadnezzar and his children, or offspring, reigned at Babylon till the kingdom of Persia. 4*thly*, That the nations of the East were to serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xxvii. 7.) and therefore he must have had a son, and a son's son, successors to him in the throne of Babylon. 5*thly*, That as Evilmerodach was his son, so none but Belshazzar, of all the kings that reigned after him at Babylon, could be his son's son; for Neriglissar was only his daughter's husband, and Laborosoarchod was the son of Neriglissar; and therefore neither of them was either son, or son's son, to Nebuchadnezzar. 6*thly*, That this last king of Babylon is said, by [o] Herodotus, to be son to the great queen Nitocris; and therefore she must have been the wife of a king of Babylon to make her so: and he could have been none other than Evilmerodach; for by that king of Babylon only could she have a son, that was son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And therefore, putting all this together, it appears, that this Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, was the same

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[k] Josephus, ibid.

[l] Megasthenes, ibid.

[m] Berosus, ibid.

[n] Scaliger in notis ad Fragmenta veterum Græcorum selecta, et de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. cap. Regibus Babylonis.

[o] Herodotus, lib. 1.

with him that is in scripture is called Belshazzar; and that he was the son of Evilmerodach, by Nitocris his queen, and so son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And that whereas he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in the 5th chapter of Daniel, and Nebuchadnezzar is there called his father, this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendant downward son, according to the usual style of scripture.

This new king came young to the crown; and had he been wholly left to himself, the Babylonians would have gotten but little by the change: for he hath, in Zenophon, the character [p] of an impious prince; and it sufficiently appears, by what is said of him in Daniel, that he was so. But his mother, who was a woman [q] of great understanding and a masculine spirit, came in to their relief; for, while her son followed his pleasures, she took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

On the coming of Cyaxares to Cyrus' camp, and [r] consultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war, it was found, that, by ravaging and plundering the countries of the Babylonish empire, they did not at all enlarge their own; and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the fortresses, and the taking of their towns, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

In the mean time [s] Nitocris did all that she could to fortify the country against them, and especially the city of Babylon; and therefore did set herself diligently to perfect all the works that Nebuchadnezzar had left unfinished there, especially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this last she fortified the city as much against the river by walls and gates, as it was against the land; and, had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And, moreover, while the river was turned for the finishing

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[p] Cyropedia, lib. 7.
[q] Herodotus, lib. 1.
[r] Cyropedia, lib. 6.
[s] Herodotus, lib. 1.

of these banks and walls, she [t] caused a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river, leading across it from the old palace to the new, 12 feet high, and 15 feet wide, and having covered it over with a strong arch, and over that with a layer, of bitumen six feet thick, she turned the river again over it; for it is the nature of that bitumen, to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone; and thereby the vault or gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the river to pierce through into it. The use this was intended for, was to preserve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one stood on the one side of the river, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both fortresses, strongly fortified,) it might be relieved from the other; or, in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions served in no stead when the city was taken by surprise, because, in that hurry and confusion which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

In the first year of this king's reign, which was the 34th after the destruction of Jerusalem, Daniel had revealed unto him the vision of the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the Messiah that was to succeed after them; which is at full related in the 7th chapter of Daniel. An. 555. Belshaz. 1.

In the 3d year of King Belshazzar, Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution that was to be raised against the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria. This vision is at full related in the 8th chapter of Daniel; and it is there said, that it was revealed unto him at Shushan, in the palace of the king of Babylon, while he attended there as a counsellor and minister of state about the kings business; which shews, that Shushan, with the province of Elam, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the Babylonians. But, about three years after, Abradates, viceroy or prince of Shushan, revolting to Cyrus, it was thenceforth joined to the empire of the Medes and Persians; and the Elamites came up with the Medes to besiege Babylon, according to the prophecy of Isaiah (ch. xxi. 2.) and Elam was An. 553. Belshaz. 3.

[t] Herodotus, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

again restored, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, (ch. xlix. 39.) for it recovered its liberty again under the Persians, which it had been deprived of under the Babylonians.

The Medes and Persians growing still upon the Babylonians, and Cyrus making great progress in his conquests, by taking fortresses, towns, and provinces, from them, to put a stop to this prevailing [u] power, the king of Babylon, about the 5th year of his reign, taking a great part of his treasure with him, goes into Lydia, to King Crœsus, his confederate, and, there by his assistance, framed a very formidable confederacy against the Medes and Persians; and, with his money, hiring a very numerous army of Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of Lesser Asia, he appointed Crœsus to be their general, and sent him with them to invade Media, and then returned again to Babylon.

An. 551. Belshaz. 5.

Cyrus, having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidents, who, by his order, under the pretence of a deserter, had gone over to the enemy, made suitable preparations to withstand the storm, and, when all was ready, marched against the enemy. By this time Crœsus [x] had passed over the river Halys, taken the city of Pteria, and in a manner destroyed all the country thereabout. But, before he could pass any farther, Cyrus came up with him, and, having engaged him in battle, put all his numerous army to flight; whereon Crœsus returning to Sardis, the chief city of his kingdom, dismissed all his auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing spring, and sent to all his allies for the raising of more forces to be ready against the same time, for the carrying on of the next year's war; not thinking that, in the interim, now winter being approaching, he should have any need of them. But Cyrus, pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed close after him into Lydia, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his auxiliaries. However, Crœsus, getting together all his own forces, stood battle against him. But the Lydians being mostly horse, Cyrus brought his camels against them, whose smell the horses not being able to bear, they were all put into disorder by it; whereon the Lydians dismounting, fought on foot; but being

An. 548. Belshaz. 8.

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[u] Cyropedia, lib. 6.

[x] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropedia, lib. 6.

soon overpowered, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where Cyrus immediately shut them up in a close siege.

While he lay there, he [y] celebrated the funeral of Abradates and Panthea his wife. He was prince of Shushan under the Babylonians, and had revolted to Cyrus about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, [z] had been taken prisoner by Cyrus in his first battle against the Babylonians. Cyrus having treated her kindly, and kept her chastely for her husband, the [a] sense of this generosity drew over this prince to him; and he happening to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his service, his wife, out of grief for his death, slew herself upon his dead body; and Cyrus took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the river Pactolus, where it remained many ages after.

Crœsus, being shut up in Sardis, [b] sent to all his allies for succours; but Cyrus pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and Crœsus in it, whom he condemned to be burned to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution; in which extremity, calling to mind the conference he formerly had with Solon, cried out with a great sigh, three times, Solon, Solon, Solon. This Solon [c] was a wise Athenian, and the greatest philosopher of his time, who coming to Sardis on some occasion, Crœsus, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, caused all his riches, treasures, and stores, to be shewn unto him, expecting that, on his having seen them, he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein; but, on his discourse with him, Solon plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy, as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before his death. Of the truth of which Crœsus being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of Solon; whereon Cyrus, sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story

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[y] Cyropedia, lib. 7.
[z] Cyropedia, lib. 5.
[a] Cyropedia, lib. 6.
[b] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropedia, lib. 7.
[c] Plutarchus in vita Solonis, Herodotus, lib. 1.

related to him; which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for Crœsus, that he caused him to be taken down from the pile, just as fire had been put to it, and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable subsistence, and made use of him as one of his chief counsellors all his life after; and, at his death, recommended him to his son Cambyses, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened [d] in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, which was the 8th year of Belshazzar, and the 41st after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Crœsus being a very religious prince, according to the idolatrous superstition of those times, [e] entered not on this war without having first consulted all his gods, and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular answers given him from them which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his kingdom. The one of them was, that Crœsus should then only think himself in [f] danger, when a mule should reign over the Medes; and the other, that when he should pass over Halys, to make war upon the Medes, he should overthrow a great empire. The first, from the impossibility of the thing that ever a mule should be a king, made him argue that he was for ever safe. The second made him believe, that the empire that he should overthrow, on his passing over the river Halys, should be the empire of the Medes. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it. But now all things having happened otherwise than these oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of Cyrus to send messengers to the temples of those gods who had thus misled him, to expostulate with them about it. The answers which he had hereto were, that Cyrus was the mule intended by the oracle; for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the Persians by his father, and of the Medes by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire which he was to overthrow, by his passing over

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[d] Solinus, cap. 7. Eusebius in Chronico.

[e] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropedia, lib. 7.

[f] Nebuchadnezzar prophesied of the coming of Cyrus under the same appellation, telling the Babylonians, at the time of his death, that a Persian mule should come and reduce them into servitude. So saith Megasthenes in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

Halys, was his own. By such false and fallacious oracles did those evil spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days; rendering their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

After this Cyrus [g] continued some time in Lesser Asia, till he had brought all the several nations which inhabited in it, from the Egean sea to the Euphrates, into thorough subjection to him. From hence he went into Syria and Arabia, and there did the same thing; and then marched into the upper countries of Asia, and, having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entered Assyria, and marched on towards Babylon, that being the only place of all the East which now held out against him: and, having overthrown Belshazzar in battle, he shut him up in Babylon and there besieged him. This happened in the ninth year after the taking of Sardis, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of Belshazzar. But this siege proved a very difficult work: for the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of provisions for twenty years, and [h] the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more. And therefore the inhabitants, thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing; and therefore, from the top of their walls, scoffed at Cyrus, and derided him for every thing he did towards it. However he went on with the attempt; and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of the palm-trees, [i] which usually grow in that country to the height of 100 feet, he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault; but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But, that he might not overfatigue his army, by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and ap-

An. 540. Belshaz. 16.

[g] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropedia, lib. 7.
[h] Vide Q. Curtium, lib. 5. c. 1.
[i] Cyropedia, lib. 7.

pointed each its month to guard the trenches. But, after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which, with little difficulty, made him master of the place: for [k] understanding, that a great annual festival was to be kept at Babylon on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the Babylonians on that solemnity to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprise them; and, for the effecting of it, he had this device: He sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above described, with orders, at a time set, to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim, getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the city, and the other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the channel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then, toward the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And, by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that, by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties, according to their orders, entered the channel, the one having Gobrias, and the other Gadates, for their guides; and finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprised the guards, and slew them all: and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them and took the palace; where, finding the king with his sword drawn at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and Cyrus, without any farther resistance, became master of the place: and this concluded all his conquests,

An. 539. Belshaz. 17.

[k] Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropedia, lib. 7.

after a war of 21 years; for so long was it from his coming out of Persia with his army, for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his taking of Babylon; during all which time he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till at length he had subdued all the East, from the Egean sea to the river Indus, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in Asia to that time; which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him; and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

This account Herodotus and Xenophon both give of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; and herein they exactly agree with the scripture. For Daniel [l] tells us, that Belshazzar made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares the uncle of Cyrus, took the kingdom; for Cyrus allowed him the title of all his conquests, as long as he lived. In this feast Belshazzar having impiously profaned the gold and silver vessels that were taken out of the temple of Jerusalem, in causing them to be brought into the banqueting-house, and there drinking out of them, he and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did, in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner, express his wrath against him for the wickedness hereof; for he caused an hand to appear on the wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The king saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it; for it was exactly over against the place where he sat. And therefore, being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wise men, magicians, and astrologers, to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But [m] none of them being able to do it, the queen-mother, on her hearing of this wonderful thing, came into the banqueting-

[l] Daniel v.

[m] The reason why they could not read it was, because it was written in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of.

house, and acquainted the king of the great skill and ability of Daniel in such matters; whereon he being sent for, did read to the king the writing, and, boldly telling him of his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in profaning, at that banquet, the holy vessels, which had been consecrated to his service in his temple at Jerusalem, made him understand, that this hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him for it, the interpretation of it being, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and Belshazzar slain; for [n] candles were lighted before the hand-writing appeared, some time after this must be required for the calling of the wise-men, the magicians, and astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that the queen-mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-house to direct the king to send for Daniel, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many hours of the night must have been spent; and therefore we may well suppose, that, by the time Daniel had interpreted the writing, the Persians were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it, by slaying Belshazzar, and all his lords, that were with him. The queen, that entered the banqueting-house to direct the king to call for Daniel, could not be his wife; for all his wives, and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast; and therefore it must have been Nitocris the queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the queen, by way of eminency, because she had the regency of the kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And Belshazzar seemeth to have left this entirely to her management: for when Daniel was called in before him, he did [o] not know him, though he was one of the chief ministers of state that [p] did the king's business in his palace, but asked of him whether he were Daniel. But Nitocris, who constantly employed him in the public affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shews Belshazzar to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him; which is a conduct too often followed by such

[n] Daniel v. 5. [o] Daniel v. 13. [p] Daniel viii. 27.

princes who think kingdoms made for nothing else, but to serve their pleasures, and gratify their lusts. And therefore that he held the crown 17 years, and against so potent an enemy as Cyrus, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whose hands the management of his affairs fell: for she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost that could be done to save the state of Babylon from ruin. And therefore, her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that Herodotus speaks of her, as if she had been sovereign of the kingdom, in the same manner as Semiramis is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about Babylon which [q] other authors ascribe to her son. For, although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best title to the honour that was due for them; though, as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it (which, though reckoned among the works of Nebuchadnezzar, must at least have been finished by her, according to Herodotus,) how wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and country, turned to the great damage of both; for Cyrus, draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when, by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal, the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former channel, by repairing the breach, [r] all the country on that side was overflown and drowned by it; and the current, by long running this way, at length making the breach so wide, as to become irreparable, unless by an expence as great as that whereby the bank was first built, a whole province was lost by it; and the current which went to Babylon afterwards grew so shallow, as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a further damage to that place. Alexander, who intended to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the bank anew, which was on the west side of it; but, when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was stopped by some difficulties that he met with in the work from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome, had he lived; but his death, which happened a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all his other designs. And, a while after, Babylon falling into de-

[q] Berosus apud Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1.
[r] Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

cay, on the building of Seleucia in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of; but that country hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better situation.

In the taking of Babylon ended the Babylonish empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar (who first founded it) 209 years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, just 50 years after it had destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem; and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many prophecies which were by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Daniel, delivered against it. And here it is to be observed, that in, reference to the present besieging, and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, that it should be shut up, and besieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Armenians; that the river [t] should be dried up; that the city should be taken in the time [u] of a feast, while her princes and wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, were drunken; and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, Belshazzar, and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, having [x] been all slain by Cyrus' soldiers when they took the palace. And so also was it particularly foretold, by the prophet Isaiah (xiv.) that God would make the country of Babylon *a possession for the bittern and pools of water* (v. 23.) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam, in order to take the city; which I have above given an account of; and so also that God would cut off from that city *the son and the grandson* (v. 22.) that is, the son and grandson of their great king Nebuchadnezzar; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, Evilmerodach the son before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and Belshazzar the grandson in the present taking of Babylon; and hereby the sceptre of Babylon was broken, as was foretold by the same prophecy (v. 5.) for it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read *the son and the grandson*

[s] Isa. xiii. 17. and xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11. 27—30.
[t] Jer. l. 38. and li. 36. [u] Jer. li. 39. 57.
[x] Cyropedia lib. 7.

(ver. 22.) it is, I confess, in the English translation *the son and the nephew*. But, in the 21st chapter of Genesis, ver. 23. the same Hebrew word *Neked* is translated *son's son*, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word; which appears from the use of the same word, Job xviii. 19. for Bildad, there speaking of the wicked, and the curse of God which shall be upon him, in the want of a posterity expresseth it thus: *Lo nin lo velo Neked*, i. e. *he shall have neither son nor grandson*; for nephew, in the English signification of the word, whether brother's son, or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

After the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is said [y] in scripture to have taken the kingdom: for Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, although it was all gained by his own valour, and, out of deference to him, yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire, which he had erected; and therefore, there is no notice at all taken of Darius in the canon of Ptolemy, but, immediately after the death of Belshazzar (who is there called Nabonadius,) Cyrus is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was; the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in Media, which was his own proper dominion. An. 538. Darius the Mede 1.

There are [z] some who will have Darius the Median to have been Nabonadius, the last Babylonish king in the canon of Ptolemy. And their scheme is, that, after the death of Evilmerodach, Neriglissar succeeded only as guardian to Laborosoarchod his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to Nebuchadnezzar; and that Laborosoarchod was the Belshazzar of the scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by Cyrus, (say they,) but by a conspiracy of his own people: that the scriptures attribute to him the whole four years of Belshazzar, which the canon of Ptolemy doth to Neriglissar, (or Nericassolassar, as he is there called,) because Neriglissar reigned only as guardian for him; and that hence it is, that

[y] Daniel v. 31.
[z] Scaliger, Calvisius, and others.

we hear of the first and the third year of Belshazzar, [a] in Daniel, though Laborosoarchod reigned alone, after his father's death, only nine months: that, after his death, the Babylonians made choice of Nabonadius, who was no way of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, but a Median by descent; and that for this reason only is he called Darius the Median in scripture. As to what they say of Nabonadius' not being of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, it must be confessed, that the fragments of Megasthenes [b] may give them some authority for it: but as for all the rest, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to scripture: for, 1*st*, The hand-writing on the wall told Belshazzar, that his kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to the [c] Medes and Persians; and immediately after [d] the sacred text tells us, that Belshazzar was slain that night, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, who could be none other than Cyaxares, king of Media, who, in conjunction with Cyrus, the Persian, conquered Babylon. 2*dly*, Therefore Belshazzar must have been the last Babylonish king, and consequently the Nabonadius of Ptolemy. 3*dly*, This last king was not a stranger to the family of Nebuchadnezzar; for the sacred text makes him [e] his descendant. 4*thly*, Darius is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws [f] of the Medes and Persians; which cannot be supposed, till after the Medes and Persians had conquered that kingdom. Had this Darius been Nabonadius the Babylonish king, he would certainly have governed by the Babylonish laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the Medes and Persians, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruin. 5*thly*, Darius is said to have divided his empire into [g] 120 provinces, which could not have been true of the Babylonish empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the Persian empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards, on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India by Darius Hystaspis, it had seven other provinces added to its former number; and therefore, in the time of Esther, it consisted of 127 provinces. And this having been the di-

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[a] Dan. vii. 1. & viii. 1.
[b] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
[c] Dan. v. 28.
[d] Dan. v. 30, 31.
[e] Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.
[f] Dan. vi. 8. 15.
[g] Dan. vi. 1.

vision of the Persian empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also: for if the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia contained but 127 provinces, the empire of Babylon alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain 120. The testimony which Scaliger brings to prove Nabonadius to have been a Mede by descent, and by election made king of Babylon, is very absurd. In the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar, delivered to the Babylonians a little before his death, concerning their future subjection to the Persians, which is preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes, there are these words: [h] 'A Persian mule shall come, who, by the help of your own gods fighting for him, shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede.' By which Mede is plainly meant Cyaxares, king of Media, who was confederate with Cyrus in the war, wherein Babylon was conquered. But Scaliger saith it was Nabonadius; and hence proves that he was a Mede, and quotes this place in Megasthenes for it. If you ask him, why he saith this, his answer is, that the person, who is in that prophecy said to be the assistant of Cyrus, and fellow-causer with him in bringing servitude upon Babylon, must be Nabonadius, because he was an assistant and fellow-causer with him herein in being beaten and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore Isaac Vossius well observes, that the arguments which Scaliger brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*. Chronologia Sacra. p. 144.

After Cyrus had settled his affairs at Babylon, [i] he went into Persia, to make a visit to his father and mother, they being both yet living; and, on his return through Media, he there married the daughter of Cyaxares, having with her for her dowry the kingdom of Media, in reversion after her father's death; for she was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to Babylon. And Cyaxares, being earnestly invited by him thither, accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at Babylon, they there took counsel, in concert together, for the settling of the whole empire; and, [k] having divided it into the 120 provinces which I have before spoken of, they [l] distributed the government of them

[h] Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
[i] Cyropedia, lib. 8.
[k] Daniel vi. 1.
[l] Cyropedia, lib. 8.

among those that had borne with Cyrus the chief burden of the war, and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed [m] three presidents, who, constantly residing at court, were to receive from them, from time to time, an account of all particulars relating to their respective government, and again remit to them the king's orders concerning them. And therefore, in these three, as the chief ministers of the king, was intrusted the superintendency and main government of the whole empire. And of them Daniel was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom (which was of eminent fame all over the East,) but also his seniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the justest title: for he had now, from the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, been employed full 65 years as a prime minister of state under the kings of Babylon. However, this station advancing him to be the next person to the king in the whole empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other courtiers, that they laid that snare for him, which cast him into the lion's den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors: and Daniel being thenceforth immoveably settled in the favour of Darius and Cyrus, [n] he prospered greatly in their time, as long as he lived.

In the first year of Darius, Daniel computing, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, which were prophesied of by the prophet Jeremiah, were now drawing to an end, [o] earnestly prayed unto God, that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to Jerusalem, and make his face again to shine upon the holy city, and his sanctuary which he had placed there. Whereon, in a vision, he had assurance given him by the angel Gabriel, not only of the deliverance of Judah from their temporal captivity, under the Babylonians, but also of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their spiritual captivity under sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the end of 70 weeks, after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, that is, at the end of 490 years. For, taking each day for an year, according as is usual in the prophetic style of scripture, so many years 70 weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest prophecy of the coming of the Messiah that we have in the Old Testament: for it determines it to the very time, on which he accordingly came, and by his

[m] Daniel vi. 2. [n] Daniel vi. 28. [o] Daniel ix.

death and passion, and resurrection from the dead, completed for us the great work of our salvation.

Cyrus, immediately on his return to Babylon, had issued out his orders [p] for all his forces to come thither to him, which, at a general muster, he found to be 120,000 horse, 2000 sithed chariots, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garrisons as many as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the rest in an expedition into Syria, where he settled all those parts of the empire; reducing all under him as far as the Red sea, and the confines of Ethiopia. In the interim [q] Cyaxares (whom the scriptures call Darius the Median) stayed at Babylon, and there governed the affairs of the empire, and during that time happened what hath been above related concerning Daniel's being cast into the lion's den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

And, about the same time, seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics [r] which, by reason of their fineness, were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the East: for we are told that the author of this coin was [s] not Darius Hystaspis, as some have imagined, but an ancienter Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the East, excepting only this Darius, whom the scripture calls Darius the Median. And therefore it is most likely, that he was the author of this coin, and that, during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent from thence on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there, out of the vast quantity of gold, which had been brought thither into the treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and Cyrus had been so long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the East, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation. According [t] to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none or at least very little alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold

[p] Cyropedia, lib. 8.

[q] Daniel v. 31.

[r] Herodotus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

[s] Harpocration, Scholiastes Aristophanis ad Eccles. p. 741, 742. Suidas sub voce Δαρεικὸν.

[t] De ponderibus et Mensuris Antiquis, p. 171.

and silver now stands with us in respect to each other, to be worth 25 shillings of our money. In those [u] parts of scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim, and in the Talmudists by the name of [x] Darkonoth, both from the Greek, Δαρεικοὶ *i. e.* Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold, which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius that was the first author of them. And these were either whole Darics or half Darics, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

But, about two years after, Cyaxares dying, and Cambyses being also dead in Persia, [y] Cyrus returned, and took on him the whole government of the empire; over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of Persia, with an army for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his death, to have been 30 years; from the taking of Babylon nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, seven years. Tully [z] reckons by the first account, [a] Ptolemy by the second, and [b] Xenophon by the third. And the first of these seven years, is that first year of Cyrus mentioned in the first verse of the book of Ezra, wherein an end was put to the captivity of Judah, and a licence given them, by a public decree of the king's again to return into their own country. The seventy years, which Jeremiah had prophesied should be the continuance of this captivity, were now just expired: for it began a year and two months before the death of Nabopollassar, after that Nebuchadnezzar reigned 43 years, Evilmerodach two years, Neriglissar four years, Belshazzar 17 years, and Darius the Median two years; which being all put together, make just 69 years and two months; and, if you add hereto ten months more to complete the said 70 years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same month, in the first year of Cyrus, in which it began in

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[u] 1 Chron. xxix. 7. and Ezra viii. 27.

[x] Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabinicum, p. 577.

[y] Cyropedia, lib. 8.

[z] De Divinatione, lib. 1.

[a] In Canone.

[b] Cyrope. lib. 8. Where Xenophon saith, that Cyrus reigned after the death of Cyaxares seven years.

the last save one of Nabopollassar, *i. e.* in the ninth month of the Jewish year, which is the November of ours. For in that month Nebuchadnezzar first took Jerusalem, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it happened also in the same month may be thus inferred from scripture. The first time the Jews are found at Jerusalem after their return, was in their Nisan, *i. e.* in our April, as will hereafter be shewn. If you allow them four months for their march thither from Babylon, (which was the time [c] in which Ezra performed the like march,) the beginning of that march will fall in the middle of the December preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of November, in the first year of Cyrus; which was the very time on which it began, just 70 years before. And that this first of Cyrus is not to be reckoned, with Ptolemy, from the taking of Babylon, and the death of Belshazzar, but with Xenophon, from the death of Darius the Mede, and the succession of Cyrus into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the scripture reckoning: for therein, after the taking of Babylon, and the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede [d] is named in the succession before Cyrus the Persian, and the years [e] of the reign of Cyrus are not there reckoned, till the years of the reign of Darius had ceased; and therefore, according to scripture, the first of Cyrus cannot be till after the death of Darius.

There can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the Jews was obtained by Daniel. When Cyrus first came into Babylon, on his taking the city, he found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the East, and long experienced in the management of the public affairs of the government; and such counsellors wise kings always seek for: and, moreover, his late reading of the wonderful hand-writing on the wall, which had puzzled all the wise men of Babylon besides, and the event which happened immediately after, exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had

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[c] Ezra vii. 9.
[d] Daniel vi. 28.
[e] Compare Daniel ix. i. with the 10th chap. ver. 1.

made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation; and therefore, on Cyrus' having made himself master of the city, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the government on this revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion, he so well approved himself, that afterwards, on the settling of the government of the whole empire, he was made first superintendant, or prime minister of state, over all the provinces of it, as hath been already shewn: and when Cyrus returned from his Syrian expedition again to Babylon, he found a new addition to his fame, from his miraculous deliverance from the lions' den. All which put together gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent prince to have him in the highest esteem; and therefore it is said, that [f] he prospered under him, as he did under Darius the Median, with whom, it appears, he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the 9th chapter of Daniel, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the king, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And, to induce him the readier to grant his request, he shewed him the prophecies of the prophet Isaiah, [g] which spake of him by name 150 years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That Cyrus had seen and read these prophecies, [h] Josephus tells us; and it is plain from scripture that he did so; for they are recited [i] in his decree in Ezra for the rebuilding of the temple. And who was there that should shew them unto him, but Daniel, who, in the station that he was in, had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled, in the restoration of Sion? Besides Cyrus, in his late expedition into Syria and Palestine, having seen so large and good a country as that of Judea lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited; for the strength and riches of every empire being

[f] Dan. i. 21. & vi. 28.
[g] Is. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.
[h] Lib. 11. c. 1.
[i] Ezra i. 2.

chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire that any part of his dominions should lie unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated country of Judea than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar to people and strengthen Babylon; and perchance under this government of the Persians, to which the Babylonians were never well affected, the weakening and dispeopling of Babylon might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own country. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's over-ruling power, which turneth the hearts of princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that, in the first year of Cyrus' monarchy over the East, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and the return of the Jews again into their own country. And herein the state of Judah and Jerusalem began to be restored; of which an account will be given in the next book.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH, *to the Time of* CHRIST.

BOOK III.

CYRUS [a] having issued out his decree for the restoring of the Jews unto their own land, and the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, they gathered together out of the several parts of the kingdom of Babylon, to the number of 42,360 persons, with their servants, which amounted to 7337 more.

An. 536. Cyrus I.

Their chief leaders were [b] Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Jehoiachin, or Jeconias, king of Judah, and Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the high priest. Zerubbabel (whose Babylonish name was [c] Sheshbazzar) was made [d] governor of the land, under the title of Tirshatha, by commission from Cyrus. But Jeshua was high priest by lineal descent from the pontifical family; for [c] he was the son of Jozadak, who was the son of Seraiah, that was high priest when

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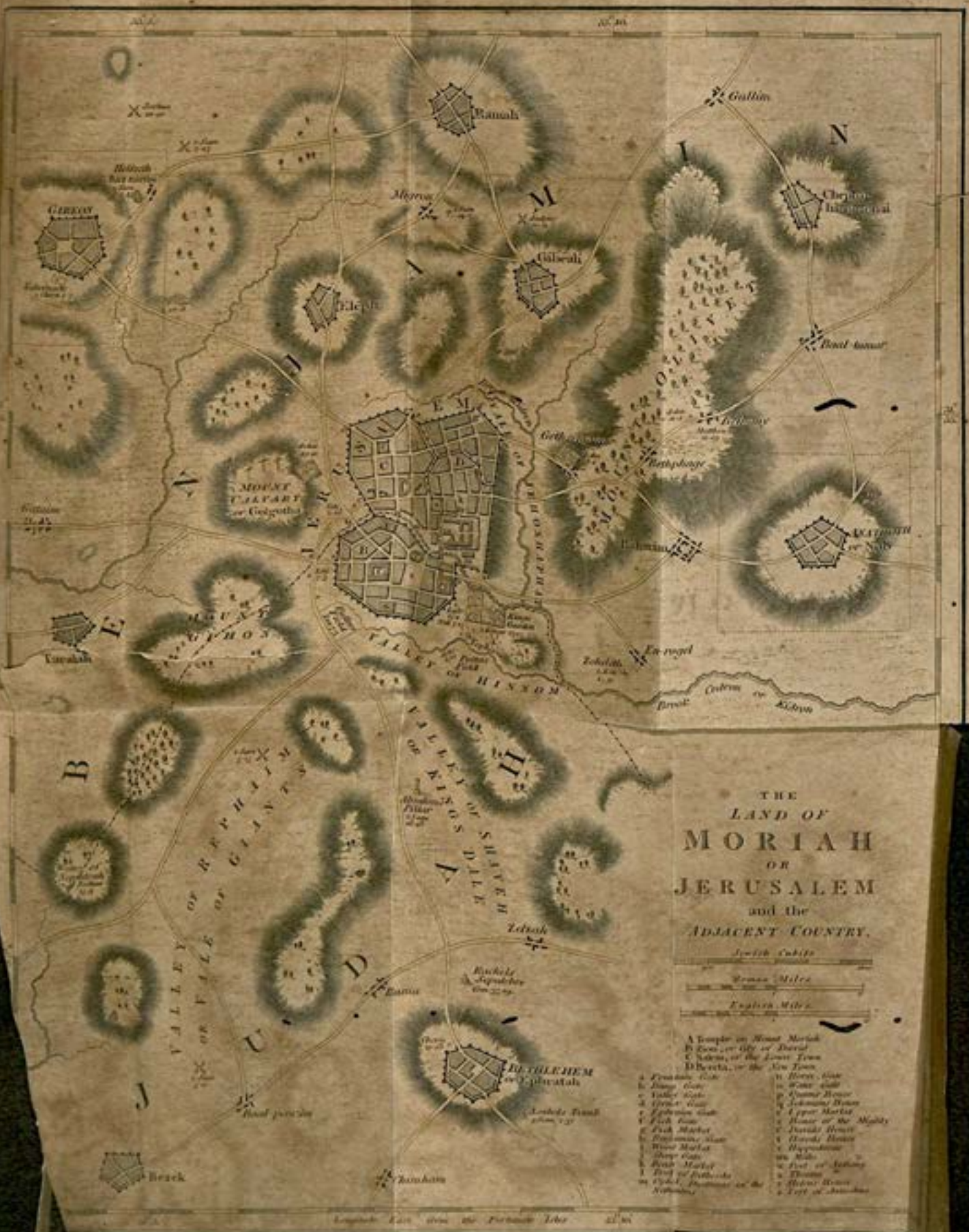
[a] Ezra i. & ii.
[b] Ezra ii. 2.
[c] Ezra i. 8, 11.
[d] Ezra v. 14.
[c] 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15.


THE
LAND OF
MORIAH
OR
JERUSALEM
and the
ADJACENT COUNTRY.
Jewish Cubits
Roman Miles
English Miles
Ramah
Gallim
Gibeah
Elephi
Gareon
Mount Calvary or Golgotha
Mount Gihon
Valley of Hinnom
Valley of Shaveh or Kings Dale
Valley of Rephaim or Vale of Giants
Bethlehem or Ephratah
Beach
Anathoth or Nob
Bethphage
Bethany
En-rogel
Zeltah
Rama
Rachels Sepulchre
Brook Cedron or Kidron
Longitude East from the Portsmouth Isles

Jerusalem was destroyed, and the temple burned by the Chaldeans. Seraiah, being then taken prisoner by Nebuzaradan, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah in Syria, was [f] then put to death by him: but Jozadak his son, being spared as to his life, [g] was only with the rest led captive to Babylon, where he died before the decree of restoration came forth; and therefore the office of high priest was then in Joshua his son, and under [h] that title he is named, next Zerubbabel, among the first of those that returned. The rest were [i] Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaia, Mordecai, Bilsham, Mispar, Bigvai, Rheum, and Baanah, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to Zerubbabel, in the re-settling of them again in their own land, and are by the Jewish writers reckoned the chief men of the great synagogue; so they call the convention of elders, which, they say, sat at Jerusalem after the return of the Jews, and did there again re-establish all their affairs both as to church and state, of which they speak great things as shall hereafter be shewn. But it is to be observed, that the Nehemiah and Mordecai above mentioned, were not the Nehemiah and Mordecai of whom there is so much said in the books of Nehemiah and Esther, but quite different persons who bore the same name.

At the same time that Cyrus issued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, he [k] ordered all the vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence. Nebuchadnezzar, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to Babylon, and placed them there in the temple of Bel his god. From thence they were, according to Cyrus' order, by Mithredath, the king's treasurer, delivered to Zerubbabel, who carried them back again to Jerusalem. All the vessels of gold and silver that were at this time restored were 5400; the remainder was brought back by Ezra, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, many years after.

And not only those of Judah and Benjamin, but several also of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land: for [l] some of them who were carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanezer, and Esar-

[f] 2 Kings xxv. 18.
[g] 1 Chron. vi. 15.
[h] Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2. Hag. i. 12. and ii. 2.
[i] Ezra ii. 2. Neh. vii. 7.
[k] Ezra i. 7—11.
[l] Tobit i. 11, 12. & xiv. 9.

haddon, still retained the true worship of God in a strange land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the Jews, when, by a like captivity, they were brought into the same parts; and some, after all the Assyrian captivities, were still left in the land. For we find some of them still there in the time of [m] Josiah, and they suffered the Babylonish captivity, as well as the Jews, till at length they were wholly carried away in the last of them by Nebuzaradan, in the [n] 23d year of Nebuchadnezzar. And many of them had long before [o] left their tribes for their religion, and, incorporating themselves with their brethren of Judah and Benjamin, dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the same calamity with them in their captivity under the Babylonians. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree again to return and dwell in their own cities; for both Cyrus' decree, as well as that of Artaxerxes, extended to all the house of Israel. The decree of Artaxerxes [p] is, by the name, to all the people of Israel, and that of Cyrus [q] is to all the people of the God of Israel, that is, as appears by the text, to all those that worshipped God at Jerusalem, which must be understood of the people of Israel, as well as of Judah; for that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. // And therefore Ezra, when he returned, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, [r] sent a copy of the king's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all Media, where the ten tribes were in captivity, as well as through all Chaldea and Assyria, where the Jews were in captivity; which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of Cyrus, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in scripture, that, after the captivity, [s] some of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh dwelt in Jerusalem, as well as those of Judah and Benjamin. And it appears from several places [t] in the New Testament, that some of all the tribes were still in being among the Jews, even to the time of their last dis-

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[m] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. & xxxv. 18.
[n] Jer. lii. 30.
[o] 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. & xxxi. 6.
[p] Ezra vii. 13.
[q] Ezra i. 3.
[r] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.
[s] 1 Chron. ix. 3.
[t] Luke ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7.

persion on the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, though then all were comprehended under the name of Jews, which, after the Babylonish captivity, became the general name of the whole nation, as that of Israelites was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars of those that returned upon Cyrus' decree. For the general number both in Ezra and Nehemiah, is said to be 42,360; but the particulars, as reckoned up in their several families in Ezra, amount only to 29,818, and in Nehemiah, to 31,031. The meaning of which is, they are only the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, that are reckoned by their families in both these places, [u] the rest being of the other tribes of Israel, are numbered only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in Ezra differ from the particulars in Nehemiah, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and, we can only conjecture which of them may be the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Of the 24 courses of the priests that were carried away to Babylon, only [x] four returned, and they were the courses of Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim, which made up the number of 4289 persons. The rest either tarried behind, or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by king David, were still kept up. For, of the four courses that returned, [y] each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this Mattathias is said to have been of the [z] course of Joarib, and Zecharias, of the course [a] of Abia, though neither of these courses were of the number of those that returned. For the new courses took the names of the old ones, though they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second temple, as they had been under the first, only the fifth course, though of the number of these that returned, changed its name, and for that of Malchijah, under which it was first established, took the name of Pashur, that is, the name of the son, instead of

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[u] Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29.
[x] Ezra ii. 36—39.
[y] Talmud. Hierosol. in Taanith.
[z] 1 Mac. ii. 1.
[a] Luke i. 5.

that of the father; for, [b] Pashur was the son of Malchijah. It is a common saying among the Jews, that they were [c] only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to Jerusalem after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flour staid behind at Babylon. It is most certain, that, notwithstanding the several decrees that had been granted by the kings of Persia for the return of the Jews into their own land, there were a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued still in Chaldea, Assyria, and other Eastern provinces, where they had been carried; and it is most likely, that they were of the best and richest of the nation that did so: for, when they had gotten houses and lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed, that such would be very forward to leave good settlements to new-plant a country that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it is certain a great many staid behind, and never again returned into their own country. And if we may guess at their number, by the family of Aaron, they must have been many more than those who settled again in Judea; for of the 24 courses of the sons of Aaron, which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of; and hereby it came to pass, that, during all the time of the second temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the Jews in Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the Jews of Palestine, even in those times when that country was best inhabited by them.

Those who made this first return into Judea, arrived there in Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year, (which answers to part of March and part of April in our kalendar;) for the [d] second month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return; and therefore, they must then have been a whole year in the land. As soon as they came thither, [e] they dispersed themselves according to their tribes, and the families of their fathers, into their several cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their houses, and again manure their lands, after they had now, from the destruction of Jerusalem, and the flight of the

An. 535. Cyrus 2.

[b] 1 Chron. ix. 12. Nehem. xi. 12.
[c] Talmud Bab in Kiddushim.
[d] Ezra iii. 8.
[e] Ezra ii. 1. ii. 70. & iii. 1. Neh. vii. 6.

remainder of the people into Egypt, on the death of Gedaliah, lain desolate and uncultivated 52 years, according to the number of the sabbatical years, which they had neglected to observe; for, according to the Mosaical law, they ought to have left [f] their lands fallow every seventh year. But, among other commandments of God, this also they had neglected: and therefore, [g] God made the land lie desolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the Jews had neglected this law of the sabbatical year: for it is certain, the land was desolated only 52 years, that is, from the death of Gedaliah till the end of the 70 years captivity, in the first year of the empire of Cyrus. And 52 sabbatical years make 52 weeks of years, which amount to 364 years; which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of Asa; and therefore, from that time the Jews having neglected to observe the sabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of 52 of them, God made that land lie desolate, without cultivation or inhabitants, just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the captivity into those years of desolation, which were to make amends for the sabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the observation of them to have been laid aside for 70 weeks of years, that is 490 years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of David and Samuel, in whose time it is not likely that such a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

On the seventh month, which is called the month Tisri, all the people which had returned to their several cities gathered together at [h] Jerusalem, and there, on the first [i] day of that month, celebrated the feast of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was [k] formerly the first month of the year, till it was [l] changed at the time of the coming up of the children of Israel out of Egypt; for

[f] Lev. xxv. 2—4.
[g] Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.
[h] Ezra iii. 1.
[i] Ezra iii. 6. Lev. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 1.
[k] Exod. xxiii. 16. and xxxiv. 22.
[l] Exod. xii. 2.

that happening in the month of Abib, afterwards called Nisan, that month, for this reason, had the honour given it, as thenceforth, to be reckoned among the Israelites for the first month of the year, that is, in all ecclesiastical matters. Before this time Tisri [m] was reckoned every where to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) [n] the beginning of all things; it being the general opinion among the ancients, that the world was created, and first began, at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reason the Jews do still, in their æra of the creation of the world, as well as in their æra of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of Tisri, and all their bills, and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts, are still dated among them according to the same computation. And from this month also they [o] began all their jubilees and sabbatical years. And therefore, although their ecclesiastical year began from Nisan, and all their festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from Tisri, and the first day of that month was their new-year's-day, and for the more solemn celebration of it, this feast of trumpets seems to have been appointed.

On the [p] 10th day of the same month was the great day of expiation, when the high priest made atonement for all the people of Israel; and on the [q] 15th day began the feast of tabernacles, and lasted till the 22d inclusively. During all which solemnities, the people staid at Jerusalem, and employed all that time to the best of their power to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place; toward which all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the [r] free-will offerings which were made on this occasion, besides 100 vestments for the priests, amounted to 61,000 drams of gold, and 5000 minas of silver, which in all comes to about 75,500 pounds of our money; for every dram of gold is worth 10 shillings of our money, and every mina of silver 9 pounds; for [s] it contained 60 shekels, and every

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[m] Chaldee Paraphrast on Exodus xii. 2.

[n] Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 366, &c.

[o] Levit. xxv. 9.

[p] Levit. xvi. 29, 30. and xxiii. 27. Numb. xxix. 7.

[q] Levit. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 12, &c.

[r] Ezra ii. 69.

[s] Ezekiel xlv. 12.

[t] shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings. And upon this fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the Rabbins say. It must be supposed, that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the Jews, that is, by those who staid behind, as well as by those who returned; otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter; for all having an equal interest in that temple, and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it; and that especially seeing that, as long as that temple stood, [u] every Jew annually paid an half shekel, *i. e.* about 18 pence of our money, towards its repair, and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

The first thing they did, was [x] to restore the altar of the Lord for burnt-offerings. This stood [y] in the middle of the inner court of the temple, exactly before the porch leading into the holy place; and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings, ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the Babylonians at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it [z] was built, and stood in another place, with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finished and completed, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place, [a] that is, in the same place where it before stood, and there they daily offered sacrifices upon it, even before any thing else of the temple was built about it. It was [b] a large pile built all of unhewn stones, 32 cubits (*i. e.* 48 feet) square at the bottom; from thence it rising one cubit benched-in

[t] Vide Bernardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis, p. 129.

[u] Exod. xxx. 13—15. Maimonides in Shekalim, cap. 1, 2, 4.

[x] Ezra iii. 3.

[y] See Lightfoot of the temple, chap. 34.

[z] Bishop Patrick in his comment on first Chronicles, chap. 9.

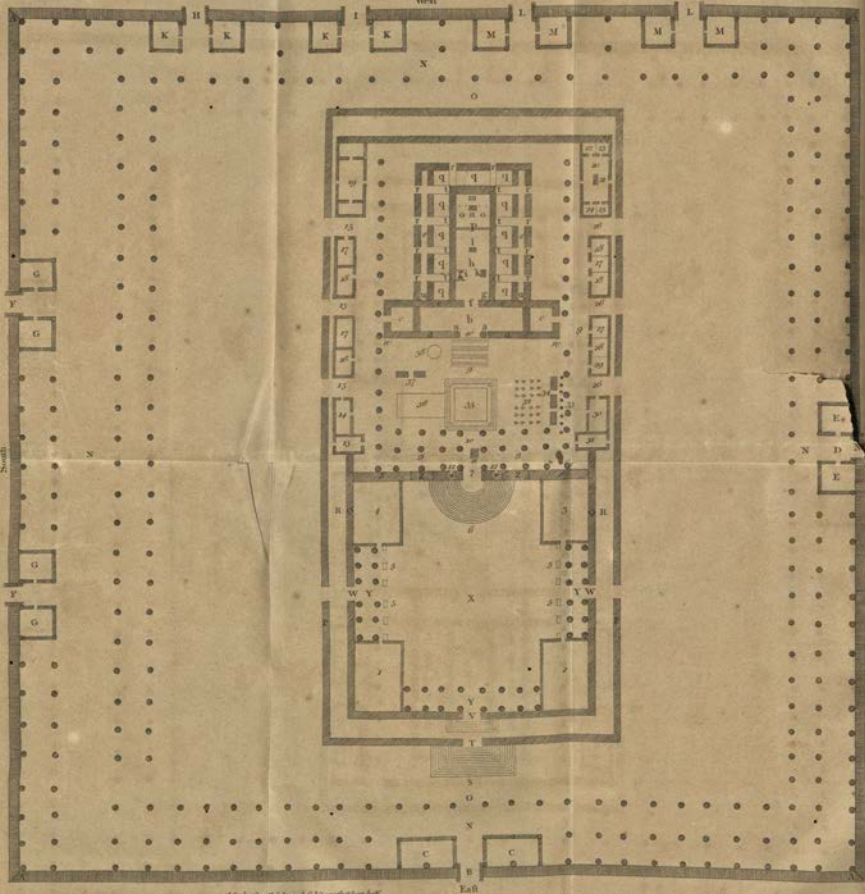
[a] Ezra iii. 2. For there it is said, that they did set the altar upon its bases or foundations, *i. e.* upon the same bases or foundations, on which it before had stood.

[b] Misnaioth in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth Habbechira, c. 1, 2.

one cubit; and from thence, being 30 cubits square, it did rise five cubits, and benched-in one cubit; and from thence being 28 cubits square, it did rise three cubits, and benched-in two cubits; from whence it did rise one cubit, which was the hearth, upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching-in of two cubits breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood, when they tended the fire, and placed the sacrifices on it. So this hearth was a square of 24 cubits, or 36 feet, on every side, and one cubit high, which was all made of solid brass, and from hence it was called the [c] brazen altar. For it is not to be imagined, that it was all made of solid brass; for to make up so big a pile all of that metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides, if it were so made, it would not only be against the law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they should make it [d] of earth or else of unhewn stone. And it would be impracticable for the use intended, because, if it were all of brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the priests to stand on it, when they were come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded, that the priests should officiate barefooted; but among the garments assigned for the priests (Exod. xxviii.) shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid, and the text saying, (ver. 4.) *These are the garments which they shall make*, this (they say) excludes all that are not there named. And Moses being commanded, at the burning bush, [e] to put off his shoes, for that the ground on which he stood was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that place; this they make a further argument for it: for, say they, the temple was all holy for the same reason, that is, because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in Shechinah over the mercy-seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted, that the priest should be always barefooted in the temple, although their going there

[c] 1 Kings viii. 64.
[d] Exod. xx. 24, 25.
[e] Exod. iii. 5. Acts vii. 33.

The Ichnography of the Temple *of* Jerusalem *with a Description of the same.*



Description of the same.

[d] Exod. xx. 24, 25. Exod. iii. 5. Acts vii. 33.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE ICHNOGRAPHY OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

[To be placed in Vol. I. p. 163.]

AAAA The outer wall of the Temple which was a square of 500 cubits on every side, *i. e.* 2000 in the whole circuit. It was 25 cubits high measuring on the inside, which was the size of all other the walls of the temple, as well in the inner part as the outer, excepting only that of the *Chel*; every cubit was a foot and an half. (B) The east gate or gate of *Shusham*. (CC) the shops where wine, oil, salt, meal, and other things used in the sacrifices, were sold; with chambers over on either side. (D) The north gate called *Tedi*. (EE) the porters' lodges, and chambers over on either side. Between this gate and the western corner upon a jetting out of the mountain stood the castle *Antonia*, formerly called *Baris*, where the *Romans* kept a garrison to overawe the temple; from hence the captain of it was called the captain of the temple, *Luke* xxii. *v.* 52. *Acts* iv. *v.* 1. It was a square pile two furlongs in compass, standing at a little distance from the temple wall, and from which there was a passage by stairs down into the cloysters at the north-west corner, through which the soldiers ran down to appease the tumult risen about *Paul*, *Acts* xxi. *v.* 32. and from which *Paul* spoke to the people, *v.* 40.
(FF) the 2 gates in the south side called the gates of *Huldah*.
(G) The porters' lodges, and chambers over on either side. (H) The gate *Callecheth* or *Coponius* on the west side. (I) The gate *Parbor* on the same side. (K) The porters' lodges, and chambers over on either side of the said two gates. (L) The two gates of *Asuppim* on the same west side. (M) The rooms and chambers over on either side of the same two gates, where a treasury of the temple was kept; the pile of each gate was 15 cubits broad and 30 high, and the entrance 10 cubits broad and 20 cubits high. And all the gates, as well in the inner parts of the temple as the outer, were every one of them of the same size. (N) The portico or cloysters round the temple, that on the south side was called the royal cloyster, because of its largeness, for it contained 3 isles, the middle 42 cubits and an half broad, and 50 cubits high; the other two, each 15 cubits broad, and 25 cubits high; which was the size of all the other cloysters of this court; that on the east side was called *Solomon's* porch, because it stood upon that vast terrace which *Solomon* built up from the valley beneath, of 400 cubits height, which was the only work of *Solomon's* temple that remained in our Saviour's time, and therefore it was called *Solomon's* porch or cloyster, *John* x. *v.* 23. *Acts* iii. *v.* 11. (O) The outer court of the temple called the court of the *Gentiles*. (P) The outer inclosure of the inner courts, being a wall curiously wrought

of 3 cubits height, within which no Gentile was to enter, or any polluted with the dead. (Q) The wall inclosing the inner court of the temple.

(R) the space between the said wall and the outer inclosure 10 cubits broad, called the *Chel.* (S) The stairs on the east-end leading from the court of the *Gentiles* into the *Chel*, consisting of 14 steps, each 9 inches high. (T) The stairs from the *Chel* into the court of the women, consisting of 5 steps, each 9 inches high.

(V) The gate entering into the court of the women on the east, called the beautiful gate of the temple, *Acts* iii. *v.* 2. because of its sumptuousness and beautiful adornments. (W) Other two gates entering into the court of the women, one on the south, and the other on the north. (X) The court of the women; so called, because thus far the women might enter to worship, but not further; it was 135 cubits square.

(Y) Cloysters on three sides of the court of the women, over which were galleries for the women. (ZZ) Two rooms under the floor of the court of *Israel*, where the musicians did lay up their instruments. 1, 2, 3, 4. Four smaller courts in the 4 corners of the court of the women, each 40 cubits long, and 30 broad. (1) Where the *Nazarites* performed what the law required. (2) Where the wood for the altar was wormed by the blemished priests before it was used. (3) Where the leper was cleansed. (4) Where the wine and oil was laid up for the use of the altar in cellars built round it on the inside.

(5) The treasury chests, where our Saviour saw the widow cast in her two mites, he then sitting on the bench in the cloysters. For all the cloysters of the temple had benches next the inner wall for the people to sell in this court as well as in the outer. And of some place nigh these chests is it to be understood where our Saviour is said to preach in the treasury, *John* viii. *v.* 20. (6) The semi-circular stairs leading up from the court of the women to the great brazen-gate, consisting of fifteen steps. (7) The great brazen gate, or the gate *Nicanor*, leading into the inner-court, in which the temple and altar stood, which court represented the tabernacle, and contained that part which was properly called the sanctuary; it was 135 cubits in breadth, and 187 in length. (8) The wall parting the sanctuary from the court of the women. (9) The place within the sanctuary properly called the court of *Israel*: for here stood the stationary men who represented the whole people of *Israel* at all times of public worship, and hither came up all other *Israelites* when they had any sacrifice to be offered (the ordinary place where all the rest worshipped was in the court of the women, the men on the floor, and the women in the galleries) It contained the first isle of the double cloysters on the

east end, and both the single cloysters on the north and south side. (10) The place properly called the court of the priests, it contained the second isle of the double cloysters at the east end of the sanctuary; the first two cubits of its breadth next the court of *Israel* were taken up by the desks of the singers and musicians, the other part was the place where the priests did worship that were out of attendance. (11) The king's seat near the pillar, 2 *Chron.* vi. *v.* 13. and chap. xxviii. *v.* 13. (12.) Winding stairs leading up to the rooms over the gate *Nicanor*, that on the right hand to the wardrobe, where the vestments for the priests were kept, and that on the left to the room where were provided the cakes for the high priest's daily meat-offering. (13) The room *Gazeth*, where the *Sanhedrim* sat, part was within the sanctuary and part without; the *Sanhedrim* sat in that part which was without. (14) The well-room where was a well from whence water was drawn for the use of the temple.

(15) Three gates leading into the sanctuary on the south side, the first next the draw-well room was from thence called the well-gate, over which was the room of *Aslines* where the incense was made, the second was the gate of *Firstlings*, and third the gate of *Kindling*.

(16) The wood-room; where the wood for the altar, after it had been wormed was laid ready for use; over it was the chamber of the high priest called *Paradrin*, where he held the council of the temple.

(17) A guard room for the *Levites*. (18) A treasury-room.

(19) The common fire-room and chief guard-room for the *Levites*.

(20) The common fire-room and chief guard-room for the priests.

(21) A stone in the middle of the said room, under which the keys of the temple were laid every night. (22) The room where the lambs for the daily sacrifice were kept. (23) the bath room where the priests bathed on their contracting uncleanness.

(24) The room where the shew-bread was made. (25) The room where the stones of the altar polluted by *Antiochus* were laid up by the *Maccabees*.

(26) Three gates on the north-side leading into the sanctuary; the first towards the east-end called the gate *Nitzotz*, or of singing; the second the gate of women, and the gate *Corban*. (27) The room where the salt was kept for the service of the altar. (28) The room where the skins of the sacrifices were laid up. (29) The room where the inwards of the sacrifices were washed. (30) Another guard room for the *Levites*, over which was a guard chamber for the priests.

(31) The room where the priest was set apart seven days, that was to burn the red cow. (32) Ringles where the sacrifices were tied down to be slain (33) Eight posts on which the sacrifices

were hung up to be flea'd. (34) Marble tables where the sacrifices were cut out in pieces. (35) The altar of burnt-offerings 24 cubits square at the top, and 32 at the bottom. (36) The ascent to the altar, being 32 cubits long. (37) The marble tables where the pieces of the sacrifices were laid that were ready for the altar.

(38) The brazen sea.

(39) The stairs up into the porch, being 12 in number.

(40) The entrance into the porch, 20 cubits broad and 40 high.

(*a*) The two pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz* standing in the entrance.

(*b*) The porch, eleven cubits broad, and sixty long.

(*cc*) The room where the butchering instruments used about the sacrifices were laid up. (*d*) The outer wall of the porch. (*e*) The inner wall of the porch. (*f*) The gate from the porch into the holy place. (*g*) The wicket through which the priest went to unbar the gate on the inside for the opening of it in the morning, and come out after having barred it in the evening. (*h*) The holy place, 20 cubits broad and 40 long, in which were (*i*) The candlestick having seven lamps;

(*k*) The shew-bread table; (*l*) The altar of incense. (*m*) The holy of holies 20 cubits square, in which were (*n*) the ark of the covenant. (*o*) The two *Cherubims* ten cubits high, with their faces inwards, and their wings extended to each other over the ark and to the walls on either side. (*p*) The veil of the temple parting between the holy and the holy of holies, which was rent in pieces at our Saviour's death. (*q*) The treasury rooms on the sides and west end of the temple, three stories high, in which the tithes were laid up.

(*r*) The passages into the said rooms.

(*s*) The galleries running before them.

(*t*) The winding stair-cases leading into the upper story.

(*u*) Winding stairs leading up into the rooms over the porch and temple.

(*ww*) The Πτερύγιον or wings of the temple stretching out on either side.

The length of the temple from out to out was 100 cubits.

The breadth of the temple at the Πτερύγιον from out to out 100 cubits, the breadth of the temple beyond the Πτερύγιον from out to out 70 cubits, the height of the temple 100 cubits. The height of the Πτερύγιον 120 cubits, at the top of which it was that the devil did set our Saviour. *Matth.* iv. *verse* 5.

Delineated and described according to the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and the *Talmud*, by *H. Prideaux*, D. D. dean of *Norwich*.

with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching-in, where the priests stood, when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube. And these were the horns of the altar so often mentioned in scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called the Kibbesh, which was 32 cubits in length, and 16 in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth, or the top of the altar; for [f] to go up to the altar by steps was forbid by the law.

But their zeal for the temple being that which had brought most of them back again into Judea, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts most intent upon. And therefore having employed the first year [g] in preparing materials, and contracting with carpenters and masons for the work, in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the house; which was done with great solemnity: for Zerubbabel the governor, and Jeshua the high priest, being present, with all the congregation, the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and musicians sounded their instruments, and singers sung, all in praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the people shouted for joy, while the first stones were laid; only the old men, who had seen the glory of the first temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now a-building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their country, could ever equal that, which had all the riches of David and Solomon, two of the wealthiest princes of the east, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former temple and this, which was now a-building, was so great, that God himself tells the prophet [i] Haggai, that the latter, in comparison with the former, was as nothing; so much did it come short of it. But this is not to be understood of its bigness: for the second temple was of the same dimensions with the first; it

An. 534. Cyrus 5.

[f] Exod. xx. 26.
[g] Ezra iii. 7.
[h] Ezra iii. 8—10, &c.
[i] Haggai ii. 3.

being built upon the very same foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same length and breadth. Cyrus' commission may seem to make it broader; for that allows [k] 60 cubits to its breadth; whereas Solomon's temple, is said to have been but [l] 20 cubits in breadth. But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances between which the said measures were taken. The 20 cubits breadth, said of Solomon's temple, was only the breadth of the temple itself, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side, to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the 60 cubits breadth in Cyrus' commission was the breadth of the whole building, measuring from the inside of the outer wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer wall on the other side. For [m] besides the temple itself, which contained the holy place, and the holy of holies, each 20 cubits broad, there were thick walls inclosing it on each side, and without them chambers on each side; then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all inclosing the whole building, being 5 cubits thick; which altogether made up the whole breadth to be 70 cubits from out to out; from which deducting the 5 cubits breadth of the outer wall on each side, you have remaining the breadth of Cyrus' commission, that is, 60 cubits; which was the breadth of the whole building from the inside of one outer wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said 20 cubits breadth, and of the said 60 cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer walls of the said temple.

But the glory of Solomon's temple was not in the temple itself, much less in the bigness of it; for that alone, was but a small pile of building, as containing no more than 150 feet in length, and 105 in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out; which is exceeded by many of our parish churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it consisted, 1*st*, In its ornaments, its workmanship being every where exceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious: for the overlaying of the holy of holies only, which was a room

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[k] Ezra vi. 3.
[l] 1 Kings vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3.
[m] See Lightfoot of the temple.

but 30 feet square, and 30 feet high, amounted [o] to 600 talents of gold, which comes to 4,320,000*l.* of our sterling money. *2dly*, In its materials; for Solomon's temple was all built of new large stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful manner; whereas the second temple was mostly built of such stones only as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. *3dly*, In its out-buildings; for the court, in which the temple stood, and that without it called the *court of the women*, were built round with stately buildings and cloysters; and the gates entering thereinto were very beautiful, and sumptuous; and the outer court, which was a large square encompassing all the rest, of 750 feet on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent cloyster, sustained by three rows of pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth: and all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbish, without any prospect of a speedy reparation; and there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new temple, as there were in the former. In process of time, indeed, all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added, on Herod's repairing of it, that the second temple, after that, came little short herein of the former; and there [p] are some who will say, that it exceeded it. But still what was the main glory of the first temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The Jews reckon them up in these [q] five particulars; 1. The ark of the covenant and the mercy-seat which was upon it; 2. The *Shechinah*, or divine presence; 3. The *Urim and Thummim*; 4. The holy fire upon the altar; and, 5. The spirit of prophecy.

I. The ark of the covenant was [r] a small chest, or coffer, three feet nine inches in length, and two feet three inches in breadth, and two feet three inches in height; in which were put the two tables of the law, as well as the broken ones (say the Rabbins) [s] as the whole; and that there was nothing else

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[o] 2 Chron. iii. 8.

[p] R. Azarias in Meor Enaiim, part 3. c. 51.

[q] Talmud Bab. in Yoma, c. 1. f. 21. and Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65.

[r] Exod. xxv. 10—22.

[s] For the proof of this, they bring the 2d verse of the 10th chapter of Deuteronomy, which they read thus; *And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first table, which thou*

in it, when it was brought into Solomon's temple, is said in two places [t] of scripture. But the Rabbins raise a controversy concerning Aaron's rod and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by Moses' own hand, whether they were not also in the ark. It is said of [u] Aaron's rod, and the pot [x] of manna, that they were laid up before the testimony; and it being agreed on all hands, that by the testimony are meant the two tables, those who interpret these words [*before the testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said rod and pot of manna to have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark; for otherwise (say they) they would not have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not understand the word in so strict a sense, say, they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it; thinking that in this position, without the ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apostle St. Paul decides this controversy; for he positively tells us, *That* [y] *within the ark were the golden pot, that had manna, and Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant.* As to the book, or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put [z] *mitzzad*, i. e. *on the side* of the ark, those who interpret that word of the inside, place it within the ark, and those who interpret it of the outside, place it on the outside of it, in a case or coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the right side, meaning, by the right side, that end of it which was on the right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter; for, 1*st*, The same word, [a] *mitzzad*, is made

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breakest, and hast put in the ark. And it is true, the word is VESHAMATA, *i. e. and thou hast put*, in the preter tense; but it being with a *vau* before it, that turns the preter tense into the future, and therefore it must be read, *and thou shalt put them*, as in our translation, and not *and thou hast put them*, as the fautors of this opinion would have it.

[t] 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10.

[u] Numb. xvii. 10.

[x] Exod. xvi. 33. where to lay up before the Lord, is, by the Jewish commentators, interpreted as the same with before the testimony of the Lord.

[y] Hebrews ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. & R. Levi Ben Gersom.

[z] Deut. xxxi. 26. [a] 1 Sam. vi. 8.

use of, where it is said, that the Philistines sent back the ark with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer *by the side of it.* And there it is certain that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. *2dly*, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of Moses with the other things placed therein. *3dly*, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved there, as the authentic copy, by which all others were to be corrected, and set right; and therefore, to answer this end, it must have been placed so, as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it; which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy-seat over it, which was not to be removed. And, *4thly*, When [b] Hilkiah the high priest, in the time of Josiah, found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing said of the ark; neither is it there spoken of, as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple. And therefore, putting all this together, it seems plain, that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer, or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *mitzzad*, which answers to the Latin, *a latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the Hebrew language. And therefore the Chaldee paraphrase, which goes under the name of Jonathan, Ben Uzziel, in paraphrasing on these words of Deuteronomy, [c] *Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant*, renders it thus, *Take the book of the law, and place it in a case, or coffer, on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.* Over [d] the ark was the mercy-seat, and it was the covering of it. It was all made of solid gold, and of the thickness (say the Rabbins) of an hand's breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubims, looking inward towards each other, with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy-seat, did meet on each side in the middle; all which (say the [e] Rabbins) was made out of the same mass, without joining any of the parts by solder. [f] Here it was where the *Shechinah*, or divine presence, rested

[b] 2 Kings xxii. 8.
[c] Deut. xxxi. 26.
[d] Exod. xxv. 17—22.
[e] R. Levi Ben Gersom, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others.
[f] Levit. xvi. 2.

both in the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it: and from hence [g] the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is, that God is so often said in scripture [h] to dwell between the cherubims, that is between the cherubims on the mercy-seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And [i] for this reason the high priest appeared before this mercy-seat once every year, on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate, and make atonement for the whole people of Israel. And all else of that nation, who served God according to the Levitical law, made it the centre of their worship, not only in the temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world; whenever they prayed, [k] they turned their faces towards the place where the ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book [l] Cozri justly saith, that the ark, with the mercy-seat, and cherubim, were the foundation, root, heart, and marrow, of the whole temple, and all the Levitical worship therein performed. And therefore, had there nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept, when they remembered the first temple in which it was, and also for the saying of Haggai, That the [m] second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a part had it in the glory of this temple, as long as it remained in it. However, the defect was supplied as to the outward form: for in [n] the second temple, there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But though it was there substituted in its stead (as there was need that such an one should for the service that was annually performed before

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[g] Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.

[h] 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. 1 Chron. xiii. 6. Psal. lxxx. 1. & xc. 1.

[i] Levit. xvi. 29—34. Numb. xxix. 7. Heb. ix. 7. Talmud in Yoma.

[k] 1 Kings viii. 48. Daniel v. 10.

[l] Part II. § 28.

[m] Chap. ii. 3.

[n] Lightfoot of the temple, c. 15. § 4.

it on the great day of expiation,) yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it; for there were no tables of the law, no Aaron's rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second, being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it, was to be a representative of the former on the great day of expiation; and to be a repository of the holy scriptures, that is, of the original copy of that collection which was made of them after the captivity, by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue; as will be hereafter related: for when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And, in imitation hereof, the Jews, in all their synagogues, have a like [o] ark or coffer, of the same size or form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue; and from whence they take it out with great solemnity, whenever they use it, and return it with the like, when they have done with it. That there was any ark at all in the second temple, many of the Jewish writers do deny; and say, that the whole service of the great day of expiation was performed in the second temple, not before any ark, but before [p] the stone on which the ark stood in the first temple. But since, on their building of the second temple, they found it necessary, for the carrying on of their worship in it, to make a new altar of incense, a new shew-bread table, and a new candlestick, instead of those which the Babylonians had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated as in the first temple, there is no reason to believe, but that they made a new ark also; there being as much need of it, for the carrying on of their worship, as there was of the others. And since the holy of holies, and the vail that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the ark, what need had there been of these in the second temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear, that it is the figure of the ark that is on the triumphal arch of Titus, still remaining at Rome, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say; for therein his triumph for the

[o] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, c. 14.

[p] This the Rabbins call the stone of foundation, and give us a great deal of trash about it. See the Mishna in Yoma, and Buxter. de Arca, c. 22.

taking of Jerusalem being set forth in sculpture, there is to be seen, even to this day, carried before him in that triumph, the golden candlestick, and another figure, which Adrichomius and some others say is the ark: but Villalpandus, Cornelius a Lapide, Ribara, and the generality of learned men, who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us, that is the table of shew-bread. The obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty: but, by the exactest draughts that I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on the top of it: for two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. Josephus, who was present at the triumph of Titus, and saw the whole of it, [q] tells us of three things therein carried before him: 1*st*, The shew-bread table; 2*dly*, The golden candlestick (which he mentions in the same order, as they are on the arch;) and, 3*dly*, The law, which is not on the arch. Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it: for as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the shew-bread table, and another before the golden candlestick, to express, by the writings on them, what the things were, which they were carried before; so, after the golden candlestick, there is on the said arch a third table without any thing after it; the arch there ending, without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what Josephus saith was carried in the third place, that is, the law; which is not to be understood of any common volume (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands,) but of that which was found in the temple (as the other two particulars were,) and laid up there, as the authentic and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined, it should be carried otherwise, than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark which was made for it under the second temple. But, to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing: it was made [r] of wood, excepting only the mercy-seat, but overlaid with gold all over, both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold surrounding it on the top, in form of a crown; into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood was the [s] inner-

[q] Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.
[r] Exod. xxv. 10—22. [s] 1 Kings viii. 16.

most and most sacred part of the temple, called The holy of holies, and sometimes The most holy place, which was ordained and made of purpose for its reception; the whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other, but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was [t] of an exact cubic form, as being 30 feet square and 30 feet high. In the centre of it the ark was placed upon a stone (say [u] the Rabbins,) rising there three fingers' breadth above the floor, to be, as it were, a pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood [x] two cherubims 15 feet high, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side-wall; where, having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side-walls, and with the other two they did meet, and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubims. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in scripture to dwell between the cherubims, but in respect of the cherubims only, which were on the mercy-seat, as hath been observed: for most of those places of scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before Solomon's temple was built; and till then there were no such cherubims in the most holy place; for they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubims stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces [y] inward; and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolatry do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried [z] by staves on the shoulders of the Levites. These staves were overlaid with gold, and put through golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it; which plainly appears from this, that, when it was carried into the temple of Solomon, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared of purpose for it, the scriptures tell us, [a] that the staves being drawn out, reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of ho-

[t] 1 Kings vi. 20. [x] 1 Kings vi. 23. 2 Chron. iii. 10.
[u] Yoma, c. v. § 2. [y] 2 Chron. iii. 13.
[z] Exod. xxv. 13, 14, &c. & xxvii. 5. Numb. iv. 4—6. 1 Chron. xv. 15.
[a] 1 Kings viii. 8. 2 Chron. v. 9.

lies: for, had they been on the sides of the ark lengthway, they would, on their being drawn out, have reached towards the side-wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideway, with one of its ends downward, and the other upward; which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it [b] between the staves; but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two feet three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed up between them towards the ark, for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of the staves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders, but they must necessarily have incommoded each other, both before and behind, in going so near together. What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, is [c] a dispute among the Rabbins. Had it been carried to Babylon with the other vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so, is agreed on all hands; and therefore it must follow, that it was destroyed with the temple; as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick: for all these in the second temple were made a-new after the rebuilding of it. However, the Jews contend, that it was hid and preserved by Jeremiah, say some, out of the [d] second book of Maccabees. But [e] most of them will have it, that King Josiah, being foretold by Huldah the prophetess, that the temple would speedily after his death, be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which Solomon, foreseeing this destruction, had caused of purpose to be built, for the preserving of it. And, for the proof hereof, they produce the text, where Josiah commands the Levites [f] to put the holy ark in the house "which Solomon the son of David, king of Israel, did build;" interpreting it of his

[b] Mishna in Yoma, c. v. Maimonides in Avodhath. Yom Haccipurim.

[c] Vide Buxtorfium de Arca, c. 21, 22.

[d] 2 Maccabees ii.

[e] Vide Buxtorfium, ibid.

[f] 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.

putting of the ark into the said vault, where, they say, it hath lain hid ever since, even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested, and brought out again in the days of the Messiah; whereas the words import no more, than that Manasseh, or Ammon, having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, Josiah commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the Rabbins concerning this ark, I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. The second thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Shechinah*, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat as hath been already shewn. This cloud did there first appear when Moses consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterwards, on the consecrating of the temple by Solomon, translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner, till that temple was destroyed; but, after that, it never appeared more. Its constant place was [g] directly over the mercy-seat; but it rested there only, when the ark was in its proper place, in the tabernacle first, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. The third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much; but, by offering their various opinions, have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be inquired into concerning it, are these two, 1*st*, What it was? and, 2*dly*, What was the use of it?

1*st*, As to what it was, the scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say, that it was [h] something which Moses did put into the breast-plate of the high priest. This breast-plate [i] was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold, 12 precious stones, bearing the names of the 12 tribes of Israel engraven on them; which being fixed to the *ephod*, or upper vestment of the high priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say [k] the scriptures, were put. They who hold them to

[g] Levit. xvi. 2.
[h] Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.
[i] Exod. xxviii. 15—30. & xxix. 8—21.
[k] Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

have been some corporeal things there placed beside the stones, will have them to be inclosed within the folding or doubling of the breast-plate, which, they say, was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit, as in a purse, to contain them in it. [l] Christophorus a Castro, and from him [m] Dr. Spencer, tells us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate, did from thence give the oracular answer, by a voice. But this is a conceit, which [n] a late very learned man hath sufficiently shewn to be both absurd and impious, as savouring more of heathenism and idolatry, than of the pure institution of a divine law. Some will have them to be [o] the Tetragrammaton, or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things signified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which Moses is said to have put into the breast-plate; and that these did give the oracular power to it. And [p] many of the Rabbins go this way; for they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name: and therefore, not being able to gainsay the evidence which there is for the miracles of Jesus Christ, their usual answer is, [q] that he stole this name out of the temple, from the stone of foundation on which it was there written (that is, the stone on which the ark formerly stood,) and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things corporeal, denoted by the means of *Urim and Thummim*, [r] think not fit to inquire, what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion, that they were things of a mysterious nature, hid and closed up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which Moses only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things that gave the oracular power to the high priest,

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[l] De Vaticinio.

[m] In Dissertatione de Urim et Thummim.

[n] Dr. Pocock in his comment on Hosea, c. iii. ver. 4.

[o] Paraphrasis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber Zohar. fol. 105 Editionis Gremonensis.

[p] R. Solomon, R. Moses Ben Nachman, R. Becai, R. Levi Ben Gersom, aliique.

[q] Toledoth Jesu ex editione Wagenselii, p. 6, 7. Raymundi Pugio Fidei, part 2. c. 8. Buxtorfii Lexicon. Rab. p. 254.

[r] R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva, Aben Ezra, aliique.

when he had the breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a telesme, or a spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no such things, but only the divine virtue and power, given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only, to denote the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them; for *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim*, *perfection*: for these answers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous; but always clear and manifest; not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of fulness in the answer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is, that the *Septuagint* translate *Urim and Thummim* by the words Δηλωσιν καὶ Αληθειαν, *i. e. manifestation and truth*, because all these oracular answers given by *Urim and Thummim*, were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the use which is made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask counsel of God in difficult and momentous cases relating to the whole state of Israel. In order whereto the high priest did put on his robes, and over them his breast-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of him. But he [s] was not to do this for any private man, but only for the king, for the president of the Sanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or public governor in Israel, and not for any [t] private affairs, but for such only as related to the public interest of the nation, either in church or state: for he appeared before God, with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel upon his breast-plate; and, therefore, whatever counsel he asked was in the name and on the behalf of all the tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publicly to them all. The place where he presented himself before God, was [u]

[s] Mishnah in Yoma, c. 7. § 5. The Talmudists prove this from Numb. xxvii. 21. See Moimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. v. 12.

[t] Abarbanel in Exod. xxviii. & in Deut. xxxiii. R. Levi Ben Gersom. Maimonid. ibid. aliique.

[u] Maimonides, ibid. Yalkut. fol. 218. col. 1,

before the ark of the covenant, not within the vail of the holy of holies (for thither he never entered but once a-year, on the great day of expiation,) but without the vail in the holy place: and there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark and the mercy-seat over it, on which the divine presence rested, he proposed the matter concerning which counsel of God was asked, and directly behind him at some distance without the holy place, perchance at the door (for farther no layman could approach) stood the person in whose behalf the counsel was asked, whether it were the king, or any other public officer of the nation, there, with all humility and devotion expecting the answer that should be given. But how this answer was given is that which is made the great dispute. The [x] most common received opinion among the Jews is, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high priest, and that in them he did read the answer. They [y] explain it by the example which we have in the first chapter of the book of Judges. There the children of Israel, either by the president of the Sanhedrim, or some other officer intrusted with the public interest, did ask counsel of God; [z] "Who should go up for us against the Canaanites first to fight against them?" The answer given by the high priest who did by *Urim and Thummim* then ask counsel of God for them, was, [z] "Judah shall go up:" for having asked the counsel, he did immediately (say they) look into the breast-plate, and saw there those letters shining above the rest, and protuberating beyond them; which being combined into words made up the answer which was given. And this notion was very ancient among them; for both [a] Josephus and [b] Philo Judæus have it; and from them several of the [c] ancient fathers of the Christian church give the same

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[x] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. § 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro Siphre. R. Becai in Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gersom. Abarbanel. R. Azarias in meor Enaiam, R. Abraham Seba, aliique.

[y] Abarbanel in Legem, Ramban in Legem.

[z] Judges i. 1. & i. 2.

[a] Antiq. lib. iii c. 9.

[b] De Monarchia, lib. 2.

[c] Chrysostom. Hom. 37. adversus Judæos August. lib. 2. Questionum supra Exodum, aliique.

account of this matter. But there are unanswerable objections against it; for 1*st*, All the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are not to be found in these 12 names, four of them, that is, *Cheth*, *Teth*, *Zaddi*, and *Koph*, being wholly wanting in them; and therefore an answer could not be given this way to every thing concerning which counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this, they have added the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to the breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting; and therefore, farther to botch up the matter, they have added also these words, *Col elleh shilte Israel*, i. e. *All these are the tribes of Israel.* But this is not only without any foundation in scripture, but rather contrary to it; for the description of the breast-plate in scripture being very particular, in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2*dly*, The assertors of this opinion do not tell us where the words which they would have added were placed in the breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breast-plate itself; for that was only a piece of cloth. They must therefore be engraven, either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two particulars the scriptures are sufficiently positive, to exclude all such additions. 3*dly*, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the spirit of prophecy in the high priest, for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters that were to make up the words of which the answer did consist; which is a difficulty of itself alone sufficient to explode this conceit. 4*thly*, There were some answers given of that length (as particularly that in 2d Samuel, ch. v. ver. 23, 24.) that all the letters in the breast-plate, taking in all those also which the assertors of this opinion have added, will not suffice for them.

It would be too tedious to add all else that might be said to shew the absurdity of this opinion. Dr. Spencer deservedly saith of it, that it is a talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever swallow.

There are also other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from scripture, that when the high priest appeared before the vail to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from

the mercy-seat, which was within behind the veil. There it was that [d] Moses went to ask counsel of God in all cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice; for from thence God communed with him of all those things which he gave him in commandment unto the children of Israel. And in the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of Israel, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas Moses, through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him, and speak to him, as it were, [e] face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend, none other was admitted thither to ask counsel of him, but through [f] the mediation of the high priest, who in his stead, asked counsel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is, by presenting himself with the breast-plate on, over all his other robes, before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto Moses, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy-seat. For in [g] many instances, which we have in scripture, of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, [h] except two, is ushered in with, *The Lord said*; and, when the Israelites made peace with the Gibeonites, they are blamed in that they asked not counsel [i] *at the mouth of God*: both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer; and, taking them both together, I think, they can scarce import any thing else. And for this reason it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy-seat stood, from whence this answer was given, is so often in scripture called, [k] the oracle, because from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to those that asked counsel of him.

This, I take to be plain, was the manner of consulting God

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[d] Exod. xxv. 22. & xxx. 6. Numb. vii. 89.

[e] Exod. xxxiii. 11.

[f] Numb. xxvii. 21. Judges xx. 28.

[g] Judges i. 1, 2. & xx. 18, 23, 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. xxiii. 2, 4, 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. & v. 19, 23.

[h] 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

[i] Joshua ix. 14.

[k] Psal. xxviii. 2. 1 Kings vi. 5, 16, 19, 20—23, 31. & vii. 49. & viii. 6, 8. 2 Chron. iii. 16. iv. 20. & v. 7, 9.

by *Urim and Thummim* in the tabernacle; but how it was done in the camp raiseth another question: for it appeareth by scripture, that either the high priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the armies of Israel to the wars, and carried with him the ephod and breast-plate, therewith to ask counsel of God by *Urim and Thummim* in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus [l] Phinehas went to the wars against the *Midianites with the holy instruments*, that is, say the Jewish commentators, [m] with the ephod and the breast-plate, which were, say they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpose for it, and carried by Levites on their shoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they understand that place of scripture, where Saul saith to Ahiah the high priest, [n] *Bring hither the ark of God*; for this could not be the ark of the covenant: for that was then at Kirjath-jearim, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or any where else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the Philistines; and then God gave the armies of Israel, and also the ark itself, into the hands of the enemy, for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other ark which Saul called to Ahiah for, than that ark or coffer, in which the ephod and breast-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it shews the thing; for it was to ask counsel of God, for which the ephod and breast-plate served. So that the saying of Saul to Ahiah, *Bring hither the ark*, importeth no more, than the saying of David afterwards to Abiathar in the like case, [o] *Bring hither the ephod*. For this ark was the coffer in which the ephod was kept, and with which Abiathar fled to David, when Saul destroyed his father's house. And of the same ark they understand the saying of Uriah the Hittite unto David, when he excused his not going to his house, and lying with his wife. [p] "The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents, and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into my house to eat and to drink, and to lie

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[l] Numb. xxxi. 6.

[m] Paraphrasis Chaldaica, Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur his verbis. Et misit eos Moses, et Phineasum, filium Eleazaris Sacerdotum, ad bellum, et Urim et Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea.

[n] 1 Sam. xiv. 18.

[o] 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.

[p] 2 Sam. xi. 11.

with my wife?" For if this be understood of the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his wife; for that was always kept in such a tent or tabernacle, till the temple of Solomon was built. It is most likely, therefore, that the ark which he speaks of was the ark, or coffer, in which the ephod and breast-plate were put, which the priest carried with him who was sent to the war.

The priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the high priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask counsel of God by *Urim and Thummim*, was [q] consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil, in the same manner as the high priest was; and therefore he was called, *The anointed for the wars.* But how he had the answer is the difficulty: for there was no mercy-seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that such oracles were given in the camp is certain, from several instances which we have of it in scripture: for David did, by the ephod and breast-plate only, ask counsel of God [r] three several times, in the case of Keilah; and [s] twice at Ziklag, once on the pursuit of those who had burned that city, and again on his going from thence for Hebron, there to take possession of the kingdom of Judah, on the death of Saul; and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, though it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that the priest anointed for the wars had a tent in the camp, on purpose there erected for this use in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle, and that, when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the same manner as the high priest, on the like occasion, did before that in the tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, though no ark or

[q] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. § 7. and in Melachim, c. 7.

[r] 1 Sam. xxiii.

[s] 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1.

mercy-seat was there. And the words of Uriah above recited plainly refer us to such a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of so much ceremony and solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an office.

Although this way of asking counsel of God was frequently used during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterwards till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, yet we have no instance of it in scripture during the whole time of the first temple: and it is most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second temple; for [t] both Ezra and Nehemiah tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by [u] Bath-kol.

They who would have the *Urim and Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first temple, give two reasons for it: 1*st*. [x] That it was an appendent of the theocracy: for as long as God was the immediate governor of Israel, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to and consulted with by his people; and, for this reason, they tell us, the oracle by *Urim and Thummim* was appointed. But when the theocracy ceased (which, they say, it did, when Solomon the first hereditary king sat upon the throne) this oracle ceased with it. And, 2*dly*, they say, that the *Urim and Thummim* was established to ask counsel only about that which belonged to the common interest of all Israel; and therefore, whenever the high priest asked counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of Israel upon his breast, to denote that what was asked was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the division of the kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must, in the nature of the thing, have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

IV. The fourth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *holy fire*, which came down from hea-

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[t] Ezra ii. 63. Neh. vii. 65.

[u] By this the Jews mean a voice from the clouds, such as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour, Matth. iii. 7. xviii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.

[x] Spencerus De Urim et Thummim, c. 2. § 2.

ven upon the altar. [y] It descended first upon the altar in the tabernacle at the consecrating of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, and afterwards it descended a-new [z] upon the altar in the temple of Solomon, at the consecrating of that temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And for using other fire were Nadab and Abihu consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say [a] some of the Jewish writers, was extinguished in the days of Manasseh. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans. After that it was never more restored; but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple. For what is said of its being [b] hid in a pit by Jeremiah, and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard.

V. The fifth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *spirit of prophecy*. But this was not wholly wanting there: for the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, lived after the second temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their death, which (say the Rabbins) happened all in one year, the prophetic spirit wholly ceased from among them.

Besides these five things, there was wanting also a sixth, that is, *the holy anointing oil*, [c] which was made by Moses for the anointing and consecrating of the king, the high priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the children of Israel throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant; so perchance the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept, till the first temple being destroyed, that also was destroyed, with it. Every [d] king was not anointed, but only the first of the family: for he being anointed for himself, and all the successors of his race, they needed no other anointing; only if there

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[y] Lev. ix. 24.
[z] 2 Chron. vii. 1.
[a] Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6.
[b] 2 Mac. i. 18, 19.
[c] Exod. xxx. 22—33.
[d] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. § 11.

arose any difficulty or dispute about the succession, then he that obtained it, though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and after that no one was to question the title; and this was the case of Solomon, Joash, and Jehoahaz. But [e] every high priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the office, and so also was [f] the priest that went in his stead to the wars. The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the [g] ark of the covenant; the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all the other vessels and utensils belonging to them. And as by this [h] anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle, by Moses, so in case any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place, of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second temple, the want hereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it: for although, on the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did a-new make an ark, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses; yet, through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple, which they had under the first; and their high priest, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwise consecrated, than [i] by the putting on of his vestments. So that the want of this one thing only in the second temple, caused a great want and defect in all things else that were therein; every thing in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well, under the second temple, have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it. But the Jews superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For, in the 8th verse

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[e] Exod. xxx. 30.
[f] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. § 7.
[g] Exod. xxx. 26—29.
[h] Exod. xl.
[i] Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. § 8.

of the first chapter of Haggai, where God saith of the second temple, *I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified*, the Hebrew word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as [k] if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpose, that the want of it might denote the five things of the first temple that were wanting in the second; and therefore will not add a sixth. But, however, there are some among them, who, to make room for it, contract the *Shechinah* and the *spirit of prophecy* under one and the same head, and, instead of them two (which are two of the particulars above mentioned,) put *the Holy Spirit*, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same Holy Spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby, without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them; and therefore name them [k] as followeth. 1. The ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat; 2. The holy fire; 3. The *Urim and Thummim*; 4. The holy anointing oil; and, 5. The Holy Spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the first temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second temple who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the second temple, [l] when the desire of all nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his temple, and Christ our Saviour, who was the truest *Shechinah* of the divine majesty, honoured it with his presence: and, in this respect, the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former house. And herein the prophecies of the prophet Haggai, [m] which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

An. 534. Cyrus 5. The Samaritans, hearing that the Jews had begun to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, came [n] thither, and, expressing a great desire of being admitted to worship God at the same temple in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in building of it; telling them, that, ever since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, they had worshipped the same God that they did. But Zerubbabel and Jeshua, and the rest of the elders of Israel,

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[k] Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2.
[l] Mal. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 7.
[m] Hag. ii. 9.
[n] Ezra iv.

made answer to them, that they, not being of the seed of Israel, had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them; that Cyrus' commission being only to those of the house of Israel, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and, according to the tenor of it, build the house to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief. And, besides, they were not truly of their religion: for although, from the time that they had been infested with lions in the days of Esarhaddon, they had worshipped the God of Israel; yet it was only [o] in conjunction with their other gods, whom they worshipped before, and therefore, notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false gods too at the same time, they were in this respect idolaters: and this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the Samaritans being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work; and although they could not alter Cyrus' decree, yet [p] they prevailed, by bribes and underhand dealings with his ministers, and other officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on; which the Jews resenting, according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever since been between them and the Samaritans; which, being improved by other causes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a Jew than a Samaritan; of which we have several instances in the gospels; and so it still continues. For, even to this day, a *Cuthean* (that is, a Samaritan) in their language, is the most odious name among them, and that which, in the height of their anger, by way of infamy and reproach, they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us Christians, when they would express the bitterest of their hatred against us.

By these underhand and subdolous dealings, the work of the temple being much retarded, and Cyrus' decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that, in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of

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[o] 2 Kings xvi. 3. [p] Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

that year, [q] Daniel did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this, on the 24th day of that month, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans; of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And, by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after; and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of Cyrus being the 73d year of his captivity, if he were 18 years old at his carrying to Babylon, (as I have shewn before, is the least that can be supposed,) he must have been in the 91st year of his age at this time; which was a length of years given to few in those days. He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God, and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest and the fullest of all that we have in the holy scriptures, insomuch that [r] Porphyry, in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done: for it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters before transacted, than a prediction of things to come; so great an agreement was there between the facts, when accomplished, and the prophecies which foretold them. But, notwithstanding all this, [s] the Jews do not reckon him to be a prophet; and therefore place his prophecies only among the Hagiographa: and they serve the psalms of David after the same rate. The [t] reason which they give for it in respect of both is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly; David in his own palace, as king of Israel, and Daniel in the palace of the king of Babylon, as one of his chief counsellors and ministers in the government of that empire. And, in respect of Daniel, they further add, [u] that, although he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it

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[q] Dan. x.

[r] Hieronymus in Prooemio ad Comment. in Danielem.

[s] Hieronymi Præfatio in Danielem. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim, part 2. c. 45.

[t] Vide Grotium in Præfatione ad Comment. in Esaiam, et Huetii demonstrationem Evangelicum, prop. 4. c. 14. § de propheta Danielis.

[u] Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in Præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmos.

was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night, which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But [x] Josephus, who was one of the ancientest writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets; and says further of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretel future events, as other prophets did, but also determined the time, when they should come to pass; and that, whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill-will both of princes and people, Daniel was a prophet of good things to come, and, by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good will of all men. And the event of such of them as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contradict it, our Saviour Christ acknowledgeth Daniel to be a prophet; for [y] he so styles him in the gospel. And this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

But Daniel's wisdom reached not only to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And [z] Josephus tells us of a famous edifice built by him at Susa in the manner of a castle (which he saith was remaining to his time,) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful, as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he saith, was the place where the Persian and Parthian kings used to be buried; and that, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. The copies of Josephus that are now extant, do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but [a] St. Jerome, who gives us the same account of it word for word out of Josephus, and professeth so to do, placeth it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain, that the copy of Josephus, which he made use of, had it so: and it is most likely to have been the true reading; for Susa being within the Babylonish empire, the scripture tells us, that Daniel had sometimes his residence [b] there; and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, that [c] Daniel died in that city, which is now called *Tuster*, and there

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[x] Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.
[y] Matth. xxiv. 15.
[z] Antiq. lib. x. c. 12.
[a] Comment. in Dan. viii. 2.
[b] Susa, or Shushan.
[c] Benjaminis Itinirarium.

they shew his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed, that Josephus calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which Daniel himself calls the castle or palace at Shushan or Susa. For what we translate, [d] at Shushan in the palace, is, in the original, Beshshushan Habirah, where, no doubt, the *Birah* of Daniel is the same with the *Baris* of Josephus; and both signify this palace or castle there built by Daniel, while he was governor of that province: for [e] *there he did the king's business*, i. e. was governor for the king of Babylon.

Part of the book of Daniel is originally written in the Chaldee language, that is, from the 4th verse of the 2d chapter to the end of the 7th chapter: for there the holy prophet treating of Babylonish affairs, he wrote of them in the Chaldee or Babylonish language. All the rest is in Hebrew. The [f] Greek translation of this book, used by the Greek churches, through all the eastern countries, was that which was translated by Theodotion. In the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, there is added in the 3d chapter, after the 23d verse, between that and the 24th verse, the song of the three children; and, at the end of the book, the history of Susanna, and of *Bel and the Dragon*; and the former is made the 13th and the other the 14th chapter of the book in that edition. But these additions [g] were never received into the canon of holy writ by the Jewish church; neither are they extant either in the Hebrew, or the Chaldee language; nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are Hebraisms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by an Hebrew in the Greek tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the Greek tongue by some hellenistical Jew, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, that in the history of Susanna, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes [h] to the Greek names of the trees, under which, they said, the

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[d] Dan. viii. 2. [e] Dan. viii. 27.

[f] Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Danielem et in Procemio ad Comment. in eundem.

[g] Hieronymus ibid.

[h] In the examination of the elders, when one of them said, *That he saw the adultery committed* ὑπὸ σχῖνον, i. e. *under a mastich tree*, Daniel answers in allusion to σχῖνον, *The angel of God hath received sentence of God* σχίσαι σε μέσον, i. e. *to cut thee in two*. And when the other elder said it was ὑπὸ πρῖνον, i. e. *under an holm tree*, Da-

adultery, which they charged Susanna with, was committed; which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However the church of Rome allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of Daniel, and, by their decree [i] at Trent, having given them an equal place with it among the canonical scriptures. But the ancients never did so. Africanus, Eusebius, and Appolinarius, have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and [k] Jerome gives the history of Bel and the Dragon no better title than that [l] of the fables of Bel and the Dragon. And others who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical scripture; whom the Protestant churches following herein, do give them a place in their Bibles among the apocryphal writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

In the death of Daniel, the Jews having lost a powerful advocate in the Persian court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But although they prevailed by underhand dealings to divert those encouragements which Cyrus had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that, as far as the Jews of themselves were able, they still carried on the work; in which they were much helped by [m] the Tyrians and the Zidonians, not only in furnishing them with masons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars, which Cyrus had given them, out of the forest of mount Libanus, from thence to Joppa by sea; from which place they were carried by land to Jerusalem. For the Tyrians and Zidonians, being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of olive-yards, or vine-yards, or the tillage of the ground; neither had they indeed any territory for either: for their gain being very great by sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they

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niel answers in allusion to the word πρίνον, *The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword* πρίσαι σε μέσον, i. e. *to cut thee in two.* Vide Hieron. ibid.

[i] Sessione, 4to.

[k] Hieronymus, ibid.

[l] Peter Comestor doth also so call them, as doth likewise Erasmus in Scol. super Præf. Hieronymi in Danielem.

[m] Ezra iii. 7.

dwelt; and therefore, having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended mostly on their neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities, which they supplied them with, and they were mostly furnished this [n] way out of the Jews' country, and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour and shipping, to be supplied with these necessaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that Solomon built the first temple; so also was it by their help that the Jews were enabled to build the second.

In the 7th year after the restoration of the Jews [o] died Cyrus, their great benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the command of the Persian and Median armies, [p] 30 years; from his taking of Babylon, [q] nine years; and from his being sole monarch of the East, after the death of Cyaxares, or Darius the Median, his uncle, seven [r] years, being at the time of his death [s] 70 years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. [s] Herodotus, [t] Diodorus Siculus, and [u] Justin, tell us, that, having invaded the Scythians, he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of 200,000 men. But [x] Xenophon makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own country: and this is by much the more probable account of the two; for it is by no means likely that so wise a man as Cyrus, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that Scythian expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how, after such a blow, his new erected empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyses was, or how it could be possible, that he should so soon after it be in a condition to wage such a war as he did with the Egyptians, and make such an absolute conquest of that country as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his father's new-erected empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and, so soon after his coming to it, enlarge it, with such conquests

An. 530. Cyrus 7.

[n] Acts xii. 20.
[o] Cyropedia, lib. 8.
[p] Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1.
[q] Can. Ptolemæi.
[r] Cyropedia, lib. 8.
[s] Lib. 1.
[t] Lib. 2. p. 90.
[u] Lib. 1. c. 8.
[x] Cyropedia, lib. 8.

abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else, but that it was founded in the highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides, all authors agree, that Cyrus [y] was buried at Pasargada in Persia; in which country, Xenophon saith, he died, and his monument there continued to the time of Alexander. But if he had been slain in Scythia, and his body there mangled by way of indignity to it, in such a manner as Herodotus and Justin do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged barbarians to be buried at Pasargada?

This Cambyses, who succeeded his father Cyrus, is [z] in scripture called Ahasuerus. As soon as he was settled in the throne, the enemies of the Jews knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of mischief, instead of opposing the Jews in their building of the temple by secret machinations, and underhand dealings with the ministers of the court, and other subordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed to the king himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his father, that he could not be induced publicly to revoke his decree. However, he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it, by several discouragements which he put upon it; so that the work went but heavily all his reign. An. 529. Cambyses 1.

Cambyses had not long been king, ere [a] he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians, by reason of some offence taken against Amasis their king. Herodotus tells us, it was because Amasis, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of Apries, instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because Apries having been dead above 40 years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to Cambyses. They speak with more probability, [b] who say, it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent. Her name, they say, was Nitetis; and for some time she concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of Amasis. But, at length, Anno 528. Cambyses 2.

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[y] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730. Plutarchus in vita Alexandri, Q. Curtius, Arrianus, aliique.

[z] Ezra iv. 6.

[a] Herodotus, lib. 2. Justin, lib. 1. c. 9. Athenæus, lib. 13. p. 560.

[b] Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 8. et Ægyptii apud Herodotum, lib. 3. in initio Athenæus, ibid.

having had several children by Cyrus, and fully secured herself in his favour and affection, she discovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all she could to revenge upon Amasis her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as soon as his other affairs would have permitted; but, dying before he could execute his intentions, Cambyses (who they say was her son)[c] undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon Egypt for no other reason than to revenge upon Amasis the case of Apries. But it is most likely, that whereas Amasis had subjected himself to Cyrus, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his successor, and that this was the true cause of the war; for the carrying on whereof Cambyses made great preparations both by sea and land. For the sea-service, he engaged the Cypriots and the Phœnicians to help him with their fleets; and for the war by land, besides his other forces, he had a great number of Greeks, Ionians, and Æolians, in his army, who were the main strength of it. But the greatest help he had in this war, was from Phanes, an Halicarnassian, who being a commander of some of the Grecian auxiliaries that were in the service of Amasis, on some disgust given him, revolted to Cambyses, and made those discoveries to him, of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the then state of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that expedition successful. And it was by his advice, that Cambyses contracted with the Arabian king that lay next the borders of Palestine and Egypt, to supply him with water, while he passed the deserts that lay between these two countries; where accordingly it was brought him on camels' backs; without which he could never have marched his army that way. Being therefore thus prepared, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival on the borders, he found Amasis was newly dead, and that Psammenitus his son, being made king in his stead, was drawing together a great army to oppose him. To make his passage open into the country, it was necessary for him to take Pelusium, which was as the key of Egypt on that side. But that being a strong place, it was like to give him much trouble: for the preventing hereof by the counsel, it is supposed of Phanes, he had recourse to this stratagem. [d] Finding that the garrison

An. 526. Cambyses 4.

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[c] Herodotus, lib. 3.

[d] Polyænus, lib. 7.

were all Egyptians, in an assault, which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other of those animals, which the Egyptians reckoned sacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the soldiers, not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing some of those animals, Cambyses made himself master of the place without any opposition: for these being the gods which the Egyptians then adored, [e] it was reckoned the highest impiety to kill any of them, and, when they died of themselves, they buried them with the greatest solemnity. By the time that Cambyses had taken this place, [f] Psammenitus came up with his army to oppose his farther progress; whereon ensued a bloody battle between them. At the beginning of it, the Greeks that were in Psammenitus' army, to be revenged on Phanes for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight,) and slew them in the front of the battle, in the sight of both armies, and drunk their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory: for the Persians, being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature, fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to Memphis; where Cambyses pursuing them, on his arrival thither, sent into the city by the Nile, on which it stood, a ship of Mitylene, with an herald to summon them to a surrender; but the people rising on him, in their rage slew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But Cambyses, after a short siege, having taken the place, sufficiently revenged their death, causing ten Egyptians of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those that were thus slain; and the eldest son of Psammenitus was one of the number. As to Psammenitus himself, Cambyses was inclined to have dealt kindly with him: for at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live; but he not being contented herewith, endeavoured to raise new troubles for the recovery of his crown; whereon he was forced to drink bulls' blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of Memphis; when he fell into the hands of the

[e] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. p. 52.
[f] Herodotus, lib. 3.

enemy, and all his power ceased; for hereon all Egypt submitted to Cambyses. This happened in the fifth year of his reign; and he reigned three years after. The Libyans, Cyrenians, and Barceans, hearing of this success, sent ambassadors with presents to make their submission to him. From Memphis he went to Sais, where the Egyptian kings, for several descents past, had kept their usual residence; and there, entering into the palace, caused the body of Amasis to be dug up out of his grave, and, after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burned. Which rage against the carcase, sheweth the anger which he had against the man; and, whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause that brought him into Egypt.

Anno. 525. Cambyses 5.

The next year, which was the 6th of his reign, he designed three expeditions, the first against the Carthaginians, the second against the Hammonians, and the third against the Ethiopians. But the Phœnicians refusing to assist him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them (they being a colony of the Tyrians,) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But, his heart being intent upon the other two, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that name, were to serve him as spies, to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the country. But the Ethiopians, being fully apprised of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the Ethiopian king, in return for the present they brought him from Cambyses, sent him back only his bow, advising him then to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians could as easily draw that bow as they could; and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country. With which answer Cambyses being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it, in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march (without considering, that they were furnished neither with provision nor any other necessaries for such an expedition,) leaving only the Grecian auxiliaries behind, to keep the country in awe during his absence. On his coming to Thebes, in the Upper Egypt, he detached from his army 50,000 men to go against the Hammonians, with orders to destroy their country, and burn the temple of Jupiter Hammon that stood in it. But, after several days march over the desarts, a strong

Anno. 524. Cambyses 6.

and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought them in such a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim Cambyses madly marched on with the rest of the army against the Ethiopians, though he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence, till at length, they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by lot for this purpose. By this Cambyses being convinced, that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to Thebes, after having lost a great part of it in this wild expedition; and from thence returned to Memphis; when he came thither, he dismissed all the Greeks to their respective homes; but, on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their god Apis had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoicing to have been for the ill success of his affairs. And, when he called the magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them; but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lie upon him. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him that their god, having manifested himself unto them (which seldom happened,) it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy that they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him; and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

The chief god of the Egyptians was [g] *Osiris*, him they worshipped in the shape of a *bull*, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of *Osiris*, which they worshipped in his stead. At Heliopolis he was called *Mnevis*, at Memphis, *Apis*. The marks of *Apis* [h] were these. His body was to be all black, excepting a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an eagle, say some, of an half moon say others, on his back, a double list of hair on his tail, and a scarabæus or knot under his tongue. When they had found such an one, they brought him with great rejoicing to the temple of *Osiris*, and there

[g] Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

[h] Herodotus, lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus, c. 35. Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 22.

kept him, and worshipped him for that god, as long as he lived; and when he was dead, they buried him with great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was many years ere they could find; and such an one they having found, on Cambyses' return to Memphis from this Ethiopic expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoicing at that time. And, in imitation of this idolatry was it, that Aaron made the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam those in Dan and Bethel, and did set them up there to be worshipped by the children of Israel, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of Egypt.

This *Apis* being brought to Cambyses, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the sight of such a god, and drawing out his dagger, run it into the thigh of the beast; and then, reproaching the priests for their stupidity and wretchedness in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis to be slain that should be found any more rejoicing there on this occasion. The *Apis* being carried back to the temple, there languished of his wound, and died.

The Egyptians say, that, after this act (which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that was ever found among them,) Cambyses was stricken with madness. But his actions shewed him to have been mad long before; of which he continued to give divers instances. They tell us of these following.

He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother; his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition; but being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which Cambyses' ambassadors brought him from the Ethiopian king, Cambyses from hence contracted such an envy against him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after dreaming, that one came, and told him, that Smerdis sat on the throne, he thereon suspecting of his brother what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, sent after him, into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chiefest confidents, with orders to put him to death; which he accordingly executed. And when one of his sisters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it, lamented his death, he gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she died of it. She was the youngest of his sisters, and, being a very

beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, so that nothing could satisfy him, but that he must have her to wife; whereon he called together all the royal judges of the Persian nation, to whom the interpretation of their laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorise any such incestuous marriage, and at the same time fearing his violent temper, should they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his sister; but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he solemnly married her; and hereby gave the first example to that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far, as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions; and her name being Meroe, he from her gave [1] that name to the island in the Nile between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it, which, in all our maps of the old geography, it still bears, (for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians.) And she being with child by him, when he struck her, the blow caused an abortion; and of this she died. And so vile a marriage deserved no better an end. He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without any cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when Crœsus advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obeyed his commands; although at the same time he expressed great joy that Crœsus was alive. And, out of a mere humour only, to shew his skill in archery, he shot to death a son of Prexaspes, who was the chief of his favourites. And in such wild actions he wore out the 7th year of his reign.

In the beginning of the 8th year, he left Egypt, and returned towards Persia. On his coming into Syria, he there met with an herald, who, being sent from Shushan, came into the army, and there proclaimed Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, king, and commanded

Anno. 522. Cambyses 8.

[1] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 790. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, Cambyses, when he departed from Shushan on the Egyptian expedition, placed there in the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, Patizithes, one of the chief of the Magians. This Patizithes had a brother, who did very much resemble Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince (which had been concealed from most others,) and found that the extravagancies of Cambyses were grown to an height no longer to be borne, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis the son of Cyrus; and forthwith sent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and command obedience to be paid unto him. Cambyses having seized him that came with this message to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of Prexaspes, whom he had sent to kill his brother, found, that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and that this was none other than Smerdis the Magian, who had invaded the throne; whereon, much lamenting that he had been led by the identity of the name to murder his brother, he gave orders for his army forthwith to set forward to suppress the usurper; but as he mounted his horse for the march, his sword falling out of the scabbard, gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died in a few days after. The Egyptians remarking, that it was in the same part of the body where he had before wounded the Apis, reckoned it as an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it; for it seldom happened, in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby. There are many instances in history wherein God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither. But what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria: for the town where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana; [k]

[k] There are many instances of such, who, on their over-curious inquiry into their future fate, have been in the same manner de-

of which when he was informed, taking it for certain, that he must there die, he called for all the chief of the Persians together, and acquainting them with the true state of the case, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was Smerdis the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the cheat, and thereby permit the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was; but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. But the Persians thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but, on his death, quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis. And it being the usage of the eastern kings in those times, to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidence, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct; and therefore being never seen in public, this made it the harder for them to discover the cheat.

Cambyses reigned [l] seven years and five months: the remaining seven months of the 8th year was the reign of the Magian. Herodotus calls him Smerdis, (as hath been already said,) Æschylus, Mardus, Ctesias, Spendadates, and Justin, Orapastes, but in the scripture he is called [m] Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled in the kingdom, after the death of Cambyses, the Samaritans [n] wrote a letter to him, setting forth, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple at Jerusalem; that they having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that, as soon as they should have finished that work, they would withdraw their obedience from the king, and pay no more toll nor tribute; which might give an

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ceived. Thus Henry IV. of England, being foretold that he should die at Jerusalem, was suddenly taken sick in the abbot of Westminster's house, and died there in Jerusalem chamber. And so Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, being foretold, that he should die at Madrigal, carefully avoided going thither. But while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at Madrigalejo, or Little Madrigal, a poor little village he had never before heard of. For as he was accidentally passing through it, he was suddenly taken ill; and, being carried into a poor cottage, the best reception the place could afford him, he died there, in an hole scarce large enough to receive his bed.

[l] Herodotus, lib. 3. [m] Ezra iv. 7. [n] Ezra iv. 7—24.

occasion for all Syria and Palestine to revolt also, and the king be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river Euphrates. And, for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made, according to the purport of it, into the records of former times concerning the behaviour of the Jews under the Assyrian and Babylonish empires; and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any further, and sent to the Samaritans to see it put in execution; who immediately, on the receipt hereof, went up to Jerusalem, and having exhibited their order to the Jews made them desist by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of Darius king of Persia, for about the space of two years. The king that now reigned having been a chief leader of the sect of the Magians, against whom the Jews were in the utmost opposition in point of religion, the aversion he had to them on this account, no doubt, furthered this decree against them.

That Cambyses was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said[o] in scripture to be the kings of Persia, that reigned between the time of Cyrus, and the time of that Darius by whose decree the temple was finished; but that Darius being Darius Hystaspis (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place,) and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia, but Cambyses and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyses and Smerdis could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to this work.

But though Smerdis was thus unkind to the Jews, [p] he studied to shew grace and favour to all others, that so, gaining their affections, he might the better secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had usurped. And therefore, as soon as he had taken on him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from taxes, and an immunity from

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[o] Ezra iv. 5—7. [p] Herodotus, lib. 3.

all military services for three years; and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And farther, to secure himself, he took to wife Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in case of a discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of Cambyses: for, after he had, upon the decision above mentioned, married one of his sisters, he took his other to wife also. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the same foot.

But these steps which he took for his security, made it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis; for if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the empire. And the care which he took never to be seen in public augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, Otanes a noble Persian, brother of Cassandana (who is said by Herodotus to have been mother to Cambyses, and the true Smerdis' brother) having a daughter named Phedyma, that had been one of Cambyses' wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know, whether it were Smerdis' the son of Cyrus that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer which she returned was, that she having never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, bid her inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or no? whereon she having informed him, that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa to ask this question of her; he sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel whether he had any ears or no: for Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her, that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy herself, that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding hereon, that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon Otanes,

taking to him six other of the nobility of the Persians, entered into the palace, and there falling on the usurper, and his brother Patizithes, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both; and then bringing out their heads to the people, declared unto them the whole imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect which the impostor was of, and slew all of them that they met with that day. For which reason the said day on which this was done, thenceforth became an annual festival among them; and, for a long while after, it was celebrated every year by the Persians in commemoration of the discovery of this imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called Magofonia, or the slaughter-day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of Magians; which signifying the *Cropt-ear'd*, it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this impostor, who was thus cropped. For *mige-gush* signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropped; and, [q] from a ringleader of that sect who was thus cropped, the author of the famous Arabic Lexicon, called Camus, tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what Herodotus, and Justin, and other authors, write of this Smerdis, plainly shews, that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was, under the name of a reformation, again revived by Zoroastres; of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

In the interim, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two sects, [r] that is, the worshippers of images, who were called the Sabians, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the Magians. The true religion, which Noah taught his posterity, was that which Abraham practised, the worshipping of one God, the supreme Governor and Creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a mediator: for the necessity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion,

[q] Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146.

[r] Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 138. Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hotingeri Historiam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Historiam religionis veterum Persarem per Thomam Hyde.

which obtained among all mankind from the beginning; for being conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, they could not conceive, how it was possible for them, of themselves alone, to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by mediators of their own choosing. And their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions; and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the fittest beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world. They first worshipped them *per sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterwards by images also. By these *sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *sacella* or *sacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet in which they supposed he dwelt. But these orbs, by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images; in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the planets themselves; and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of image-worship among them. To these images were given the names or

the planets they represented, which were the same they are still called by. And hence it is, that we find Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, to be first ranked in the polytheism of the ancients; for they were their first gods. After this a notion obtaining, that good men departed had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those, whom they thought to be such; and hence the number of their gods increased in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion first began among the Chaldeans; which their knowledge in astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that Abraham separated himself when he came out of Chaldea. From the Chaldeans it spread itself over all the East, where the professors of it had the name of Sabians. From them it passed into Egypt, and from thence to the Grecians, who propagated it to all the Western nations of the world. And therefore those, who mislike the notion advanced by Maimonides, [s] that many of the Jewish laws were made in opposition to the idolatrous rites of the Sabians, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the Sabians were an inconsiderable sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now indeed, since the growth of Christianity and Mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable sect; but anciently they were all the nations of the world that worshipped God by images. And that Maimonides understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us, the Sabians, whom he spoke of, were a sect [t] whose heresy had overspread almost all mankind. The remainder of this sect still subsists in the East, under the same name of Sabians, which they pretend to have received from Sabius a son of Seth's. And among the books wherein the doctrines of their sect are contained, they have one, which they call the book of Seth, and say, that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the people of the east is, that the best of their astronomers have been of this sect, as Thebet Ebn Korrah, Albattani, and others; for the stars, being the gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their studies. These Sabians, in the consecrating of their images, used many incantations, to draw down into them from the stars those intelligences for whom they erected them, whose power and influence they held did afterward dwell in

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[s] In Moreh Nevochim. [t] Moreh Nevochim, part 1. c. 63.

them. And from hence the whole foolery of Telesms, which some make so much ado about, had its original.

Directly opposite to these were the Magians, another sect, who had their original in the same eastern countries; for [u] they abominating all images worshipped God only by fire. They began first in Persia, and there, and in India, were the only places where this sect was propagated; and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there [x] were two principles, one which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil, that is to say, God and the devil; that the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols; and that, of the composition of these two, all things in the world are made; the good god they name Yazdan, and also Ormuzd, and the evil god, Ahraman: the former is by the Greeks called Oramasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore, when Xerxes prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the Athenians had Themistocles, [y] he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oramasdes, their good god. And concerning these two gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended, that the good god only was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself, that is, the good god his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his world with all evil men with him; that darkness is the truest symbol of the evil god, and light the truest symbol of the good god. And therefore they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being in their opinion the perfectest fire, and causing the

[u] Vide Pocockii specimen historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147, &c. et Historiam religionis veterum Persarem per Thomam Hyde.

[x] This opinion Manes, the heretic, received from them, and would have introduced it into the Christian religion, it being the principal point which those of his heresy, called from him Manichees, endeavoured to impose on the world.

[y] Plutarchus in Themistocle.

perfectest light. And for this reason, in all their temples, they had fire continually burning on altars, erected in them for that purpose. And before these sacred fires they offered up all their public devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the good god; but always hated darkness, as being, what they thought, the truest representative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmost detestation, as we now have the devil: and, for an instance hereof, whenever they had an occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inverted, as thus, Ahraman. And these were the tenets of this sect, when, on the death of Cambyses, Smerdis and Patizithes, the two chiefest ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the usurping of the sovereignty which I have mentioned.

An. 521. Darius I.

The [z] seven princes, who had slain these usurpers, entering into consultation among themselves about the settling of the government, on the sixth day after, came to this agreement: That the monarchy should be continued in the same manner as it had been established by Cyrus; and that, for the determining which of them should be the monarch, they should meet on horseback the next morning against the rising of the sun, at a place in the suburbs of the city, which they had appointed for it, and that he whose horse should first neigh, should be the king; for the sun being then the great deity of the Persians, and equally adored by them all, whether of the Sabian or Magian sect, by this method they seemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of Darius, one of the seven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made use of a device which secured the crown to his master; for the night before having tied a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought Darius' horse thither, and put him to cover the mare; and therefore, as soon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, Darius' horse, at the sight of the place, remembering the mare, ran thither and neighed; whereon he was forthwith saluted king by the rest, and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a noble Persian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had followed Cyrus in all his wars. He was at that time

[z] Herodot. lib. 3. Justin, lib. 1. c. 10.

governor of the province of Persia, and so continued for many years after his son's advancement to the throne. This Darius, in the writings of the latter Persians, is called Gushtasph, and his father Lorasph; and, under these names, they are much spoken of in that country even to this day.

The empire of Persia being thus restored, and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new king; for they were to have access to his presence at all times, whenever they should desire, unless only when he was accompanying with any of his wives, and their advice was to be first had in the management of all the public affairs of the empire. And whereas the king only wore his turbant directly upright, and all others till then with its top reversed or turned backward, these had it by way of special privilege granted unto them from thenceforth, to wear their turbants with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the Magians, turned the back part of their turbants forward, that they might by that signal be the better known to each other in the scuffle, in memory of this, as an especial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbants in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the Persian kings of this race had always seven chief counsellors in the same manner privileged, who were their prime assistants in the government, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the empire were transacted; and under this character we find them both in [a] the book of Ezra, and in the [b] book of Esther, made mention of.

As soon as Darius was settled in the throne, [c] to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and also another daughter of his, called Artistona. The former had been before wife to Cambyses, her brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, while he usurped the throne. But Artistona was a virgin, when he married her, and was the most beloved by him of all his wives. Besides these, he took also to wife Parmys, the daughter of the true Smerdis, brother of Cambyses, and Phedyma, the daughter of Otanes, by whose mean the imposture of the Magian was discovered, and by these had a great many children, both sons and daughters.

Although, by the death of the usurper, his edict which prohibited the building of the temple was now at an end,

[a] Chap. vii. 14. [b] Chap. i. 14. [c] Herodotus, lib. 3.

yet, the Jews neglecting to resume the work, [d] God did for this reason smite the land with barrenness, so that both the vintage and the harvest failed them. But in the 2d year of Darius, they being by the prophet Haggai informed of the cause of this judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themselves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on [e] the first day of the 6th month (which answers to about the middle of our August) that the word of the Lord, by Haggai the prophet, came to Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, governor of Judea, and to Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the high priest, concerning this matter. And, [f] on the 24th day of the same month, they being excited hereby, arose with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themselves with all diligence to provide stone and timber, and all other materials that were necessary for the again carrying on of the work. And, to encourage them to go on vigorously herewith, on the 21st day of the 7th month, (*i. e.* about the beginning of our October,) [g] another message from God came to them by the same prophet, which not only assured them of his presence with them herein, to make it prosper in their hands; but also promised them, that [h] the glory of the latter house, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former house; which was accordingly accomplished, when Christ our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this latter temple, the [i] same prophet tells us, at its first building, was as nothing in comparison of the former.

An. 520. Darius 2.

In the [k] 8th month of the same year (which answers to part of our October and part of November,) the word of the Lord came by Zechariah the prophet to the people of the Jews, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

On the [l] 24th day of the 9th month (which fell about the beginning of our December,) the Jews, after they had been employed from the 24th day of the 6th month in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of

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[d] Haggai i. 6—11. & ii. 17, 19.
[e] Haggai i. 1.
[f] Haggai i. 15.
[g] Haggai ii. 1.
[h] Haggai i. 9.
[i] Haggai ii. 3.
[k] Zech. i. 1.
[l] Haggai ii. 18.

it; [m] whereon the prophet Haggai promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their land, with which it had been smitten, and plentiful increase of all its fruits for the future; and also [n] delivered unto Zerubbabel a message from God of mercy and favour unto him.

In the beginning of the next year (which was the 3d year of Darius according to the [o] Babylonian and Persian account, but the second according to the Jewish,) the Samaritans understanding, that the building of the temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in the last reign, they [p] betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work; and therefore applied themselves to Tatnai, whom Darius had made chief governor, or prefect, of all the provinces of Syria and Palestine, (which was [q] one of the 20 prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire,) and made complaint to him against the Jews as to this matter, suggesting, that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the king; whereon Tatnai, being accompanied by Setharboznai (who seems to have been then governor of Samaria,) came to Jerusalem, to take an account of what was there a-doing. But Tatnai, being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first inquired of the elders of the Jews by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him Cyrus' decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own authority; but first wrote letters to the king, to know his pleasure concerning it; wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the Jews' plea of Cyrus' decree, for the justifying of themselves herein; and

An. 519. Darius 3.

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[m] Haggai ii. 10—19. [n] Haggai ii. 20—23.

[o] For the Babylonians and Persians, at this time, began their year from the beginning of January; but the Jews from Nisan, about 10 or 11 weeks after. And therefore seeing the eighth month (which answers in part to our October) was according to Zechariah (c. i. v. 1.) in the second year of Darius, whatsoever was acted from the beginning of January, within a year after, must be in the 3d year of Darius, according to the Babylonish account, and also according to the exact truth of the matter; for Darius began his reign with the beginning of the Babylonish year.

[p] Ezra v. 3—17. [q] Herodotus, lib. 3.

thereon requested, that search might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any such degree granted by Cyrus, or no, and that thereon the king would be pleased to signify unto him, what he would have done herein. Whereon [r] search being made, and the degree being found among the rolls in the royal palace at Ecbatana in Media, where Cyrus was when he granted it, the king resolved to confirm the same: for having lately married two of the daughters of Cyrus, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing that might tend to support the honour and veneration which was due to the memory of that great prince; and therefore would suffer nothing to be infringed of that, which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn; wherein recitement being made of the decree of Cyrus, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to Tatnai and Setharboznai, to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his house pulled down, and that, a gallows being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

On [s] the 24th day of the 11th month (that is about the beginning of our February,) the prophet Zechariah had, in a vision, that revelation made unto him which is contained in the book of his prophecies, from the 7th verse of the 1st chapter to the 9th verse of the 6th chapter. The substance of which is to express the mercy that God would shew unto his people, in the restoration and redemption of Sion, and the vengeance which he would execute upon those that had oppressed them.

About the beginning of the 4th year of Darius, his decree which confirmed that of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, was brought to Jerusalem. It was about the beginning of the former year that Tatnai sent to the king about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the dispatch of such an affair; for the king then residing at Shushan in Persia, was at such a distance from Judea, that the journey of the messenger thither to him, could not take up less than three months time, (for [t] Ezra was four months in coming to Judea from Babylon, which was at least

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[r] Ezra vi.
[s] Zechariah i. 7.
[t] Ezra vii. 9.

one quarter of the way nearer;) and, on his arrival, it cannot be supposed that, in a court where the government of so large an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a dispatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time, before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his message; and when he had obtained an order to search among the records of the empire for the decree of Cyrus (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance,) he or some other messenger first went to Babylon, to make the search there; and, on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to [u] Ecbatana, the capital of Media, where, having found the inrolment of it (for it seems Cyrus was there when he granted it,) he returned with it from thence to Shushan. In which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of records which, in the registers of so large an empire, must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could not have been expended. And when the record of Cyrus' degree was brought from Ecbatana to Shushan, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the dispatch of the new decree which Darius made in confirmation of it: and then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to Tatnai, and from him to Judea. All which put together, make a full year from the time of Tatnai's writing his letter, to the time of the arrival of Darius' decree in answer to it. When Tatnai and Setharboznai, on the perusal of it, found how strictly the king required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it; [x] and therefore they did immediately let the Jews know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time, the building of the house went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three years after: for, by virtue of this decree, the Jews were not only fully authorised to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the expences of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by Cyrus in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the Samaritons, and other enemies, in corrupting those, through whose hands the administration of the

[u] This is the same that is now called Tauris.

[x] Ezra vi. 13. And Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

public affairs and public revenues passed, this part of Cyrus' decree was rendered ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and through the whole reign of Cambyses. And therefore, during all that time, the Jews being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned from their captivity, it went very slowly on. But, being now helped again by the king's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

The publishing of this decree at Jerusalem may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the Jewish state: and from the thorough destruction of it, in the burning of the city and temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, to this time, is just 70 years. The time falling so exactly, and the prophet Zechariah confirming it, by expressing, under [y] the 4th year of Darius, that the mourning and fasting of the Jews for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of Gedaliah, was then [z] just 70 years: this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the 70 years of the Babylonish captivity, spoken of by Jeremiah, at the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of them, at the publication of this decree of Darius. But the scripture plainly tells us, that these 70 years, as prophesied of by the prophet [a] Jeremiah, began from the 4th year of Jehoiakim, and expired [b] on the first of Cyrus, on his then granting his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the Jews again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both computations may very well stand together; for, though the Babylonish captivity did begin from the 4th of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar first subjugated the land, and carried away to Babylon the first captives, yet it was not completed till he had absolutely destroyed it in the 11th year of Zedekiah, which was just 18 years after. And so likewise, though the deliverance from this captivity, and the restoration of the Jewish state thereon, was begun by the decree of Cyrus in the first year of his reign; yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree, which Darius granted in the 4th year of his reign for the confirmation of it; which was also just 18 years

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[y] Zech. vii. 1.
[z] Zech. vii. 5.
[a] Jer. xxv.
[b] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20—23.

after. And therefore, if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity, to the beginning of the restoration, we must reckon from the 4th year of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, which was just 70 years; and, if we reckon from the completion of the captivity, to the completion of the restoration, we must reckon from the 11th of Zedekiah to the 4th of Darius; which was also just 70 years. So that, whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the restoration, Jeremiah's prophecy of the 70 years captivity will be both ways equally accomplished; and therefore I doubt not, but that both ways were equally intended therein, though the words of the prophecy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

On the publication of this decree of Darius, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it, which had rendered the former decree ineffectual, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the Jews in Judea and Jerusalem seemed so thoroughly restored, that the Jews who were in Babylon, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those fasts, which hitherto they had observed for 70 years past, for the destruction which Judah and Jerusalem had suffered from the Chaldeans in the time of Zedekiah, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough restoration from it; and therefore [c] sent messengers to Jerusalem, Sharezar, and Regem-melech, to ask advice of the priests and prophets, that were there concerning this matter. For, from the time of the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, the Jews of the captivity had kept four fasts in commemoration of the calamities which then happened to their nation; the [d] first on the 10th day of the 10th month, because then Nebuchadnezzar first laid siege to Jerusalem, in the 9th year of Zedekiah; the [e] second on the 9th day of the 4th month, because on that day the city was taken; the third [f] on the 10th day of the 5th month, because then the city and temple were burned by Nebuzaradan; and the fourth [g] on the 3d day of the 7th

[c] Zech. vii.
[d] 2 Kings xxvi. 1. Jeremiah lii. 4. Zechariah viii. 19.
[e] 2 Kings xxv. 3. Jeremiah xxix. 2. Zechariah viii. 19.
[f] Jeremiah lii. 12. Zechariah vii. 3, 5. & viii. 19.
[g] Jeremiah xli. 1. Zechariah vii. 5. & viii. 19.

month, because on that day Gedaliah was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the land, which completed the desolation of it. Concerning all which fasts, and the question of the Babylonish Jews proposed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet Zechariah that answer which we have in the 7th and 8th chapters of his prophecies. Therein [h] the fasts of the 5th and 7th months are said to have been observed for 70 years past. And, from the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Jewish account, (which was the 17th according to the Babylonish account,) [i] when Jerusalem was destroyed, to the 4th year of Darius Hystaspes, when the Jewish state was again thoroughly restored, were just 70 years; according to the canon of Ptolemy; so the sacred and profane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The Jews still observe these four fasts even to this day, though not exactly on the same days in their [k] present kalender, as in the former.

In the beginning of the 5th year of Darius, happened [l] the revolt of the Babylonians, which cost him the trouble of a tedious siege again to reduce them, for it lasted 20 months. This city having, for many years during the Babylonish empire, been the mistress of the East, and domineered over all the countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the Persians, especially after they had removed the imperial seat of the empire from Babylon to Shushan; for that much diminished the grandeur, pride, and wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting themselves up against the Persians, under a king of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly done, under Nabopollasar, against the Assyrians. And therefore, taking the advantage of the revolution which happened in the Persian empire, first on the death of Cambyses, and after on

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[h] Zechariah vii. 1.

[i] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jeremiah lii. 12.

[k] Their present kalender was made by R. Hellel, about the year of our Lord 360. Their former year was a lunar year, reconciled to a solar by intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal equinox, to which season, the products of their flocks and their fields, which were required to be used at their feasts of the Passover, and the Pentecost, necessarily fixed it.

[l] Herodotus, lib. 3. Justin, lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

the slaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of provisions for the war; and, after they had covertly done this for four years together, till they had fully stored the city for many years to come, in the 5th year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew Darius upon them, with all his forces, to besiege the city. In the beginning of the 3d year of Darius, we learn from the prophet Zechariah, that [m] the whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have happened: and the message of Sharezer and Regemmelech from Babylon, [n] in the 4th year of his reign, proves the same for that year also; and therefore it could not be till the 5th year that this war broke out. As soon as [o] the Babylonians saw themselves begirt by such an army, as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the siege: in order whereto, they took a resolution the most desperate and barbarous that ever any nation practised. For, to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths among them; and therefore, drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children useless for the wars, excepting only, that every man was allowed to save one of his wives which he best loved, and a maid servant to do the work of the house. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold, "[p] That two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood; and that these should come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their sorceries, and the great abundance of their inchantments." And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves, thus upon themselves, became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by several of the prophets; and the Jews were as often [q] warned to come out of the place, before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially [r] the prophet Zechariah, about two years before, sent them a call from God, that is,

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[m] Zechariah i. 11—15.
[n] Zechariah vii. 1—3.
[o] Herodotus, lib. 3.
[p] Isaiah xlvii. 9.
[q] Isaiah xlviii. 20. Jeremiah l. 8. and li. 6, 9, 45.
[r] Zechariah ii. 6—9.

" to Zion, that dwelt with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that land," that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when Sharezer and Regem-melech returned to Babylon, no doubt, they carried back with them, from this prophet, a repetition of the same call: and although it be no where said, that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves, yet we may take it for certain, that they did, and, by seasonably removing from Babylon before the siege began, avoided partaking of the calamities of it: for almost all the prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon Babylon speaking of it as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands, and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy, and favour, to all that were of his people, and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before [s] by Sharezer and Regem-melech, it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenor of these sacred predictions, that any of the Jewish nation should be sufferers with the Babylonians in this war; and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war began.

Darius having lain before Babylon a year and eight months, [t] at length, toward the end of the 6th year of his reign, he took it by the stratagem of Zopyrus, one of his chief commanders: for he, having cut off his nose and ears, and mangled his body all over with stripes, fled in this condition to the besieged; where, feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of Darius, he grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces; which trust he made use of to deliver the city to his master, which could scarce have been any other way taken: for the walls, by reason of their height and strength, made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries, and assaults; and it being furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also [u] large quantities of void ground within the city, from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never

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[s] Zechariah viii.

[t] Herodotus, lib. 3. Justin. lib. i. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

[u] Quintus Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90 stadia habitatur, cætera serunt coluntque, ut si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur.

have been starved into a surrender; and therefore at length it must have wearied and worn out Darius, and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this stratagem of Zopyrus, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as Darius was master of the place, he took away [x] all their 100 gates, and beat down [y] their walls from 200 cubits (which was their former height) to 50 cubits; and of these walls only [z] Strabo, and other after-writers are to be understood, when they describe the walls of Babylon to be no more than 50 cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his Persians, who had been before their servants, according to the prophecy of Zechariah, chap. ii. 9. and impaled 3000 of the most guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But, by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the siege, he was forced to send for 50,000 of that sex out of the other provinces of the empire, to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

And here it is to be observed, that the punishment of Babylon kept pace with the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of the prophet Jeremiah, chap. xxv. 12, 13. whereby he foretold, that "when the seventy years of Judah's captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the king of Babylon, and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced against it." For accordingly, when the restoration of Judah began, in the first of Cyrus, after the expiration of the first 70 years, that is, from the fourth of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, then began Babylon's punishment, in being conquered and subjected to the Persians, in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the Jews to them in the beginning of the said 70 years. And, after the expiration of the second 70 years, that is, from the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar, when Judah and Jerusalem were thoroughly desolated, to the fourth of Darius, when the restoration of both was completed, then the desolation of Babylon was also in a great measure completed in the devastation

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[x] Jer. li. 58. Herodot. ibid.
[y] Jer. l. 15. & li. 44, 58. Herodot. ibid.
[z] Strabo, lib. 16.
[a] Is. xlvii. 5.

which was then brought upon it by Darius. In the first part of their punishment, their king was slain, and their city taken; and thenceforth, from being [a] *the lady of kingdoms*, and mistress of all the East, it became subject to the Persians. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial seat removed from thence to Shushan or Susa, (for this seems to have been done in the first year of Cyrus' reign over the whole empire,) and Babylon thenceforth, instead of having a king, had only a deputy residing there, who governed it as a province of the Persian empire. And at the same time that the city was thus brought under, the country was desolated and destroyed by the inundation that was caused, by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became *a possession for the bittern, and pools of water*, as the prophet Isaiah foretold, chap. xiv. 23. "And the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof," according as Jeremiah prophesied hereof, chap. li. 42. And, in the second part of their punishment, on Darius' taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it, which hath been already spoken of; and from that it did never any more recover itself, but languished a while, and at length ended, according to the words of Jeremiah, *in a perpetual desolation.*

In the 6th year of Darius according to the Jewish account, and on the 3d day of the 12th month, called the month of Adar (which answered to part of the third, and part of the fourth month of the Babylonish year, and consequently was in the 7th year of Darius, according to the Babylonish account,) [b] the building of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the priests and Levites, and all the rest of the congregation of Israel, with great joy and solemnity. And, among other sacrifices then offered, there was a sin-offering for all Israel of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel; which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above said, that, on the return of Judah and Benjamin from the Babylonish captivity, some also of each of the other tribes of Israel returned with them out of Assyria, Babylon, and Media, whither they had been before carried, and, joining with

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[a] Isaiah xlvii. 5. [b] Ezra vi. 15—18.

them in the rebuilding of the temple (to which they had originally an equal right,) partaked also in the solemnity of this dedication; otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the tribe of Judah, that swallowed up the names of all the rest; for from this time the whole people of Israel, of what tribe soever they were, [c] began to be called Jews; and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

This work was 20 years in finishing: for so many years were elapsed, from the 2d of Cyrus, when it was first begun, to the 7th of Darius, when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and through the whole reign of Cambyses, it met with such discouragements, through the fraudulent devices of the Samaritans, that it went but slowly on for all that time: and, during the usurpation of the Magians, and for almost [d] two years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is, till towards the latter end of the 2d year of the reign of Darius. But then it being again resumed, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the decree of Darius, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially through the exhortations and prophecies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that, in the beginning of the 7th year of Darius, it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this dedication, the 146th, the 147th, and the 148th psalms seem to have been sung: for, in the Septuagint versions, they are styled *the Psalms of Haggai and Zechariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion; and this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition: but, in the original Hebrew, these psalms have no such title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

The decree whereby this temple was finished having been granted by Darius at his palace in Shushan (or Susa, as the Greeks call the place,) in remembrance hereof, [e] the eastern gate, in the outer wall of the temple, was from this time called *the gate of Shushan*, and a picture and draught of that city was pourtrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the Romans.

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[c] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 8.

[d] In the first of Esdras, v. 73. it is said, that the time of the stop which was put to the building was two years.

[e] See Lightfoot of the Temple, c. 3.

In the next month after the dedication, which was the month Nisan, the first of the Jewish year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine service, [f] the passover was observed in it on the 14th day of that month, according to the law of God, and solemnized by all the children of Israel that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart, because, saith the book of Ezra, "[g] The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel:" from whence [h] Archbishop Usher infers, that Babylon must necessarily have been reduced by Darius before this time; for otherwise, he thinks, he could not have been here stiled king of Assyria, Babylon being then the metropolis of that kingdom.

And if we will add one stage more to the two above mentioned, of the captivity and restoration of Judah, and place the full completion of the captivity in the 23d of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Jewish account (which was the 21st according to the Babylonish,) [i] when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the land; and the full completion of the restoration at the finishing of the temple, and the restoration of the divine worship therein; this stage will have the like distance of 70 years for the dedication of this temple, and the solemnizing of the first passover in it, being in the 7th year of Darius, it will fall in the 70th year from the [k] said 23d of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Ptolemy's canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And, here ending the rebuilding of the second temple, I shall herewith end this book.

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[f] Ezra vi. 19—22. [g] Ezra vi. 22.

[h] Annales Veteris Testamenti, sub. A. M. 3489.

[i] Jeremiah lii. 30.

[k] That is, reckoning the 23d year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish account, to be the 21st according to the Babylonish account, which Ptolemy went by.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CONNECTED,

IN

THE HISTORY

OF THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM

The Declension of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL *and* JUDAH,
to the Time of CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

THE Samaritans, still carrying on their former spite and rancour against the Jews, gave them new trouble on this occasion. The tribute of Samaria had been assigned first [a] by Cyrus, and afterwards [b] by Darius, for the reparation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the furnishing of the Jews with sacrifices, that [c] oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the king, and the royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the Persian empire. This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the Samaritans, and was in truth the source and the true original reason of all the oppositions which they made against them: for they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the Jews; and therefore they did, [d] by bribes and

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Darius 8.

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[a] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1.
[b] Joseph. lib. 11. c. 4.
[c] Ezra vi. 8—10.
[d] Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

other underhand dealings, prevail with the ministers, and other officers, to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and all the time of Cambyses, to put a stop to this assignment, and did all else that they could wholly to quash it. But the grant being again [e] renewed by Darius, and the execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid, to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying, till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finished, (though the out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many years after,) they [f] refused to let the Jews any longer have the tribute; alleging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired, the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the Jews, to right themselves in this matter, sent Zerubbabel the governor, with Mordecai and Ananias, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to Darius of the wrong that was done them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The king, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himself about it, issued out his royal order to his officers at Samaria, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the Samaritans observe his edict, in paying their tribute to the temple of Jerusalem, as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, give the Jews any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter, till the time of Sanballat; which was many years after.

From the time of the reduction of Babylon, [g] Darius had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the Scythians, that inhabited those countries which lie between the Danube and the Tanais: his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded Asia, and held it in subjection to them 28 years, as hath been before related. This was

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[e] Ezra vi.

[f] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

[g] Herodotus, lib. 4. Justin, lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

in the time of Cyaxares, the first of that name, king of Media, about 120 years before. But for want of a better colour for that which his ambition and thirst for conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the war. In order whereto, having drawn together an army of 700,000 men, he marched with them to the Thracian Bosphorus, and having there passed over it on a bridge of boats, he brought all Thrace in subjection to him; and then marched to the Ister or Danube, where he appointed his fleet to come to him (which consisted mostly of Ionians, and other Grecian nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of Asia, and on the Hellespont;) he there passed over another bridge of boats into the country of the Scythians, and having there, for three months time, pursued them through several desert and uncultivated countries, where they drew him by their flight of purpose to harrass and destroy his army, he was glad at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill-projected expedition. And, had not the Ionians, by the persuasion of Hestiæus, prince of Miletus (or tyrant as the Grecians call him,) contrary to the opinion of others among them, staid with the fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, which lies at the mouth of the Hellespont, being one of those who attended Darius with his ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that, by their going away and leaving Darius and his army to perish on the other side of the Danube, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the Persians, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that tyranny which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders; and would certainly have taken place, but that Hestiæus, in answer hereto, soon made them sensible, what a dangerous risk they were going to run: for he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the Persians, would immediately rise upon them to recover their liberties; and this would end in the ruin of every one of them, who now, with sovereign authority, under the protection of Darius, securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them: so that they all resolved to stay: and this gave Darius the means of again repassing the river into Thrace, where having left Megabyzus, one of his chief commanders, with part of his army, to finish his conquests in

An. 513. Darius 9.

those parts, and thoroughly settle the country in his obedience, he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest, and retired to Sardis, where he staid all the winter, and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and resettle his affairs in those parts of his empire, after the shock that had been given them, by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised expedition.

An. 512. Darius 10.

Megabyzus, having reduced most of the nations of Thrace under the Persian yoke, returned to Sardis to Darius, and [h] from thence accompanied him to Susa, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed Artaphernes, one of his brothers, governor of Sardis, and Otanes chief commander of Thrace, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of Megabyzus. This Otanes was the son of Sisamnes, one of the royal judges of Persia, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by Cambyses, there is related this remarkable instance of that king's justice towards him, [i] that he caused him to be flea'd alive, and making with his skin a covering for the seat of the tribunal, made this his son, whom he appointed to succeed him in his office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonished to avoid his crime.

An. 510. Darius 12.

The Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for his invading their country, [k] passed over the Danube, and ravaged all those parts of Thrace, that had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont; whereon Miltiades, to avoid their rage, fled from the Chersonesus; but, on the retreat of the enemy, he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the inhabitants of the country.

An. 509. Darius 13.

About this time Darius, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them; [l] for which purpose having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far up upon it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs; and sent him down the river, to

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[h] Herodotus, lib. 5.

[i] Herodotus, lib. 5. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24.

[k] Herodotus, lib. 6.

[l] Herodotus, lib. 4.

make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him, for this end, to sail down the current, till he should arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then, passing through it into the Southern ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the straits of Babelmandel and the Red sea, and on the 30th month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus, landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho, king of Egypt formerly sent out his Phœnicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red sea. And from thence he went to Susa, and there gave Darius an account of all the discoveries which he had made. After this Darius entered India with an army, and brought all that large country under him, and [m] made it the 20th prefecture of his empire; from whence he annually received a tribute of 360 talents of gold according to the number of the days of the then Persian year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the Euboic talent, which was near the same with the Attic; and therefore, according to the lowest computation, it [n] amounted to the value of 1,095,000 pounds of our money.

A [o] sedition happening in Naxus, the chief island of the Cyclades in the Egean sea, now called the Archipelago, and the better sort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants were expelled the island, and driven into banishment; whereon retiring to Miletus, they there begged the assistance of Aristagorus, for the restoring of them again to their country. This Aristogaras then governed that city as deputy to Hestiæus, whose nephew and son-in-law he was; Hestiæus being then absent at Susa in Persia: for Darius on his return to Sardis, after his unfortunate expedition against the Scythians, being thoroughly informed, that he owed the safety of himself and all his army to Hestiæus, in that he persuaded the Ionians not to desert him at the Da-

An. 504. Darius 18.

[m] Herodotus, lib. 3.

[n] For, according to the lowest valuation, an Attic talent of gold amounts to 3000 pounds of our money.

[o] Herodotus, lib. 5.

nube, sent for him to come to him, and, having acknowledged his service, bid him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of him the Edonian Myrcinus, a territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, in order to build a city there; and, having obtained his request, immediately on his return to Miletus, he equipped a fleet, and sailed for Thrace, and, having there taken possession of the territory granted him, did forthwith set himself on the enterprise of building his intended city in the place projected. Megabyzus, being then governor of Thrace for Darius, soon saw what danger this might create to the king's affairs, in those parts: for he considered that the new-built city stood upon a navigable river; that the country thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both of Greeks and Barbarians, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service both by sea and land; that, if these should get such a crafty and enterprising person as Hestiæus at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power both by sea and land, too hard for the king to master; and that especially since, from their silver and gold mines, of which there were many in that country, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprise they should undertake. All this, on his return to Sardis, he represented unto the king, who being thereby made fully sensible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a messenger to Myrcinus to call Hestiæus to Sardis to him, under pretence, that having great matters in design, he wanted his counsel and advice concerning them, by which means having gotten him into his power, he carried him with him to Susa, pretending, that he needed such an able counsellor and so faithful a friend to be always about him, to advise with on all occasions that might happen; and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in Persia, that he should have no reason any more to think either of Myrcinus or Miletus. Hestiæus, hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and appointed Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his absence, and to him the banished Naxians applied for relief. As soon as Aristagoras understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of Naxus, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired: but not being strong enough of himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to Sardis, and com-

municated the matter to Artaphernes, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile island into the king's hands; that, if he had that, all the rest of the Cyclades would of course fall under his power also; and that then Eubœe, an island as big as Cyprus, lying next, would be an easy conquest; from whence he would have an open passage into Greece, for the bringing of all that country under his obedience; and that 100 ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprise. Artaphernes, on the hearing of the proposal, was so much pleased with it, that, instead of 100 ships, which Aristagoras demanded, he promised him 200, providing the king liked hereof: and, accordingly, on his writing to him, having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring, An. 505. Darius 19. to Miletus, the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian of the Archæmenian or royal family. But his commission being to obey the orders of Aristagoras, and the haughty Persian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, this created a dissension between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that Megabates, to be revenged on Aristagoras, betrayed the design to the Naxians: whereon they provided so fully for their defence, that, after the Persians had, in the siege of the chief city of the island, spent four months, and all their provisions, they were forced to retire, for want wherewith there any longer to subsist, and so the whole plot miscarried; the blame whereof being, by Megabates, all laid upon Aristagoras, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, Artaphernes charged on him all the expences of the expedition: and it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny, which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but also in his utter ruin; and therefore being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the king, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty; and while he had this under consideration, came a message to him from Hestiæus, which advised the same thing; for Hestiæus after several years continuance at the Persian court, being weary of their manners, and exceeding desirous of being again in his own country, sent his advice unto Aristagoras, as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim herein; for he con-

cluded, that if there were any combustions raised in Ionia, he should easily prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. Aristagoras therefore finding his own inclinations backed with the order of Hestiæus, communicated the matter to the chief of the Ionians, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he proposed, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

The Tyrians, after the taking of their city by Nebuchadnezzar, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full 70 years: but these being now expired, they were again, according to the [p] prophecy of Isaiah, restored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a king again of their own; and accordingly had so till the time of Alexander. This favour seems to have been granted them by Darius, in consideration of their usefulness to him in his naval wars, and especially at this time when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the Ionians again to their obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and, by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the East, they soon grew to that greatness, both of power and riches, as enabled them, on Alexander's invading the East, to make a greater stand against him than all the Persian empire besides; for they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months, before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shewn. This grant was made them by Darius in the 19th year of his reign.

The next year after, Aristagoras, to engage the Ionians the more firmly to stick to him, [q] restored to them all their liberties: for, beginning first with himself at Miletus, he there abolished his own authority, and reinstated the people in the government; and then, going round Ionia, forced all the other tyrants (as the Greeks then called them) in every city to do the same; by which, having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the king, and armed both by sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the 20th year of the reign of Darius.

An. 502. Darius 20.

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[p] Isaiah xxiii. 15, 17.

[q] Herodot. lib. 5.

Aristagoras, to strengthen himself the more against the Persians in this war, which he had begun against them, [r] went in the beginning of the following year to Lacedæmon, to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected, he came to Athens, where he had a much more favourable reception: for he had the good fortune to come thither at a time when he found the Athenians in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the Persians that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion. Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to Artaphernes at Sardis; and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to say against the Athenians, and he spared not to do all that he could to set Artaphernes against them; which the Athenians having advice of, sent an embassy to Sardis, to make friendship with Artaphernes, and to desire him not to give ear to their exiles against him. The answer which Artaphernes gave them was, that they must receive Hippias again, if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to Athens, did set the whole city into a rage against the Persians; and in this juncture Aristagorus coming thither, easily obtained from them all that he desired; and accordingly they ordered a fleet of 20 ships for his assistance. An 501. Darius 21.

In the third year of the war, [s] the Ionians having gotten all their forces together, and being assisted with 20 ships from Athens, and five from Eretria, a city in the island of Eubœa, they sailed to Ephesus; and, having there laid up their ships, resolved on an attempt upon Sardis; and accordingly marched thither, and took the place. But Sardis being built most of cane, and their houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire, did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole city was burned down, excepting only the castle; where Artaphernes retired, and defended himself. But after this accident, the Persians and Lydians gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the Ionians saw it was time for them to re- Anno 500. Darius 22.

[r] Ibid. [s] Herodot. lib. 5.

treat; and therefore marched back to their ships at Ephesus, with all the speed they were able; but, before they could reach the place, they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with a great slaughter. Whereon the Athenians going on board their ships, hoisted their sails, and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest intreaties with which they were solicited to it by Aristagoras. However [t] their having engaged thus far, gave rise to that war between the Persians and the Greeks; which, being carried on for several generations after between these two nations, caused infinite calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the Persian empire; for Darius on his hearing of the burning of Sardis, and the part which the Athenians had therein, from that time resolved on a war against Greece; and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at dinner, to say aloud unto him three times, *Sir, remember the Athenians.* In the burning of Sardis, it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of the country, took fire, and was consumed with the rest of the city; which afterwards served the Persians for a pretence to set on fire all the temples of the Grecians which came in their way, though in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

On the departure of the Athenians, [u] the rest of the confederate fleet sailed to the Hellespont, and the Propontis, and reduced the Byzantines, and most of the other Grecian cities in those parts under their power; and then, sailing back again brought in the Carians to join with them in this war, and also the Cypriots, who all, (excepting the Amathusians) entered into the same confederacy against Darius, and revolted from him; which drawing upon him all the forces that the Persians had in Cilicia, and the other neighbouring provinces, and also a great fleet from Phœnicia, the Ionians sailed thither to their assistance; and engaging the Phœnician fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But, at the same time, the Cypriots being vanquished in a battle at land, and the head of that conspiracy slain in it, the Ionians lost the whole fruit of their victory at sea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themselves or their allies by it: for, after this de-

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[t] Herodot. ibid. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

[u] Herodot. lib. 5.

feat at land, the whole island was again reduced; and, within three years after, the same persons whom they had now assisted came against them with their ships, in conjunction with the rest of the Persian fleet, to complete their utter destruction.

The next year after, being the 23d of Darius, [x] Daurises, Hymees, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all sons in law of Darius by the marriage of his daughters, having divided the Persian forces between them, marched three several ways to attack the revolters. Daurises with his army directed his course to the Hellespont; but, after having there reduced several of the revolted cities, on his hearing that the Carians had also joined the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon Hymees, who was first sent to the Propontis, after having taken the city of Cyus in Mysia, marched thence to supply his place on the Hellespont, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the Ilian coast; but falling sick at Troas, he there died the next year after. Artaphernes and Otanes, with the third army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the confederacy, fell into Ionia and Æolia, where the chief of their strength lay, and took Clazomenæ in Ionia, and Cyma in Æolia; which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that Aristagoras hereon, despairing of his cause, resolved to leave Miletus, and shift elsewhere for his safety; and therefore, getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on shipboard, and set sail for the river Strymon in Thrace, and there seized on the territory of Myrcinus, which Darius had formerly given to Hestiæus; but the next year after, while he besieged the city, he was there slain by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces. Anno. 499. Darius 23.

In the 24th year of Darius, [y] Daurises having fallen into the country of the Carians, overthrew them in two battles with a very great slaughter; but, in a third battle, being drawn into an ambush, he was slain, with several other eminent Persians, and his whole army cut off and destroyed. Anno. 498. Darius 24.

Artaphernes, with Otanes, and the rest of the Persian generals, seeing that Miletus was the head and chief strength of the Ionian confederacy, [z] resolved to bend all their force against it, reckoning, that, if Anno. 497. Darius 25.

[x] Herodotus, lib. 5. [y] Ibid. [z] Herodotus, lib. 6.

they could make themselves masters of this city, all the rest would fall of course. The Ionians, being informed of this, agreed, in their general council, to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen Miletus as well as they could for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the Persians by sea; in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to prevail: in order whereto, they appointed Lada, a small island before Miletus, for their rendezvous; and thither they came, to the number of 353 ships: at the sight of which, the Persians, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battle with them, till they had, by their emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that, when they came to engage, the Samians, Lesbians, and several others, hoisting their sails, and departing home, there were not above 100 ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being soon overborne by the number of the enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this Miletus, being besieged both by sea and land, soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which happened in the 6th year after the revolt of Aristagoras. From Miletus the Persians marched into Caria, and having there taken some cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that country again under their former yoke. The Milesians who were saved from the sword in the taking of the city, being sent captives to Darius to Susa, he did them no farther harm, but sent them to inhabit the city of Ampha, which was situated at the mouth of the Tigris, where, in conjunction with the Euphrates, it falls into the Persian gulf, not far from the place where now the city Balsora stands; and there they continued a Grecian colony for many ages after.

After the taking of Miletus, the Persian fleet, which mostly consisted of Phœnicians, Cypriots, and Egyptians, having wintered on the coasts thereabout, [a] the next year took in Samos, Chius, Lesbus, and the rest of the islands; and, while they were thus employed at sea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent; and, having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatened, that is, they made all the beautifulest of their youths eunuchs, sent all their virgins into Persia, and burned all their cities, with their temples; into so

Anno. 496. Darius 26.

[a] Herodotus, lib. 6.

grievous a calamity were they brought by this revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, Hestiæus, the Milesian, led them into; and he himself had his share in it; for this very year, being taken prisoner by the Persians, he was carried to Sardis, and there crucified, by the order of Artaphernes. He hastened his execution, without consulting Darius about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the Persians be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so happened as they conjectured, did afterwards appear: for when his head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cause of the Ionian war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of Sardis, [b] Darius understanding that Aristagoras, the deputy of Hestiæus, was at the head of it, doubted not but that Hestiæus himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it: but he managed the matter so craftily with Darius, as to make him believe, not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it: for he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing; that they had waited only for his absence to put it in execution; that, if he had continued at Miletus, it could never have happened; and that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts was to send him thither to appease these combustions; which he promised not only to do, but to deliver Aristagoras into his hands, and make the great island of Sardinia to become tributary to him; swearing, that, if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had said. By which fair speech Darius being deceived, [c] gave him permission to return into Ionia. On his arrival at Sardis, his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the government there, and he had drawn several of the Persians into it: but, in some discourse which he had with Artaphernes, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the Ionian revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at Sardis; and therefore, the next night after getting privately away, he fled to the sea

[b] Herodot. lib. 5. [c] Herodot. lib. 6.

coast, and got over to the island of Chius. But the Chians, mistrusting that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of Darius among them, seized on his person, and put him in prison; but afterwards, being satisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one whom he had confidence in, with letters to Sardis, to those Persians whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the person whom he trusted deceiving him, delivered the letters to Artaphernes; whereby the plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters, were he at the head of the Ionian league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the Chians to convey him to Miletus. But the Milesians, having had their liberty restored to them by Aristagoras, would by no means run the hazard of losing it again, by receiving him into the city: whereon, endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulsed, and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to Chius. While he was there, being asked the reason why he so earnestly pressed Aristagoras to revolt, and thereby brought so great a calamity upon Ionia, he told them, it was because the king had resolved to remove the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to bring the Phœnicians into Ionia, and give them that country; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising; for Darius had never any such intention: but it very well served his purpose, first to excuse himself, and next to excite the Ionians with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war; which accordingly had its effect: for the Ionians hearing that their country was to be taken from them, and given to the Phœnicians, were exceedingly alarmed at it; and therefore resolved, with the utmost of their power, to stand to their defence. However, Hestiæus finding the Chians not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he desired of them, he passed over to the isle of Lesbus; and, having there gained eight ships, he sailed with them to Byzantium, where making prize of all the ships that passed the Bosphorus, either to or from the Euxine sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there, in a short time, grow to a great power. But, on his hearing of the taking of Miletus, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a deputy, and sailed to Chius; and, after some little opposition at his first landing, made himself master of the island, the Chians, by reason of the loss they had lately sustained in the sea-fight against the Persians at Lada, being too

weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of Ionians and Æloians to Thasus, an island on the Thracian coast, and laid siege to the chief city of that island: but hearing that the Phœnician fleet, in the service of the Persians, was sailed to take in the Islands on the Asian coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to Lesbus with all his forces, to defend that place; from whence passing over into the continent which was opposite to it, to plunder the country, Harpagus, one of the Persian generals, who happened then to be there with a great army, fell upon him; and, having routed his forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to Sardis, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head, and the most enterprising genius of any of his age; but he having wholly employed these abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it happened to him, as most at the end it doth to such refined politicians, who, while they are spinning fine webs of politics for the bringing about of their self-designs, often find them to become snares to their own destruction; for the providence of the wisest of men being too short to over-reach the providence of God, he often permits such Ahithophels, for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it happened to Machiavel, the famous master of our modern politicians, who, after all his politics, died in jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of truth and justice to be the rules of their politics.

After the Phœnecian fleet had subdued all the islands on the Asian coast, Artaphernes [d] sent him to reduce the Hellespont, that is, all its coasts on the European side, for those on the Asian had been already brought under by the armies at land: which Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as Tenedos to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power; but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for Athens. But, in his passage, one of them, commanded by Metiochus, his eldest son, was taken by the Phœnicians, and Metiochus was carried to Darius to Susa; but, instead of doing him any

Anno. 495. Darius 27.

[d] Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

hurt, he generously gave him an house, and lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a Persian lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into Greece. In the interim Miltiades, with his other four ships, got safe to Athens, and there again settled himself; for he was a citizen of that city, and of one of the most honourable families in it. Miltiades, his father, Cimon's elder brother by the same mother (for they had different fathers,) was the first of the Athenians that settled in the Thracian Chersonesus, being called thither by the Dolonces, the inhabitants of the country, to be their prince, who, dying without issue, left his principality to Stesagoras, his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; he dying also without children, the sons of Pisistratus, who then governed at Athens, sent this Miltiades' brother thither to succeed him; where he arrived, and settled himself in that year in which Darius entered on his war against the Scythians, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the Danube, as hath been above said. Three years after he was driven out by the Scythians; but being afterwards brought back, and restored again by the Dolonces, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossessed by the Phœnicians. While he lived in the Chersonesus, he married, for his second wife, Hegesipyla, the daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king in the neighbourhood, by whom [e] he had Cimon, the famous general of the Athenians. After the death of Miltiades, she had, by a second husband, a son, called also Olorus, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of Thucydides, the historian. She could not have had them both by the same husband; for Cimon and Thucydides, and consequently Olorus, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from Miltiades.

Darius, recalling all his other generals, [f] sent Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, a young Persian nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of Asia, with orders to invade Greece, and revenge him on the Athenians and Eretrians for the burning of Sardis. On his arrival at the Hellespont, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the execution of these orders, he marched with his land forces through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to take

Anno 494. Darius 28.

[e] Plutarchus in Cimone. [f] Herodotus, lib. 6.

in Thasus, and then follow after him, and coast it by sea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this war. On his arrival in Macedonia, all that country dreading so great a power, submitted to him. But the fleet, after they had subdued Thasus, as they were passing farther on towards the coasts of Macedonia, on their doubling of the cape of Mount Athos, now called Capo Santo, met there with a terrible storm, which destroyed 300 of their ships, and above 20,000 of their men. And at the same time Mardonius fell into no less a misfortune by land: for lying with his army in an encampment not sufficiently secured, the Thracians took the advantage of it, and, falling on him in the night, broke into his camp, and slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself; by which losses being disabled for any farther action either by sea or land, he was forced to march back again into Asia, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself, or the king's affairs, by this expedition.

Darius, before he would make any further attempt upon the Grecians, [g] to make trial which of them would submit to him, and which would not, sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water; which was the form whereby the Persians used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these heralds, several of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, did as was required of them. But when those who were sent to Athens and Lacedæmon came thither with this commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it, when come to a cooler temper: for thus to put heralds to death, was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themselves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong, that would have been accepted of; and the Lacedæmonians sent a person of purpose to Susa to make an offer hereof. Anno 493. Darius 29.

Darius, on the hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, sus-

[g] Herodotus, lib. 7.

pecting the sufficiency of his conduct, [h] recalled him from his command, and sent two other generals in his stead, to prosecute the war against the Grecians, Datis a Median, and Artaphernes a Persian, the son of that Artaphernes' brother, who was lately governor at Sardis, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the Athenians, and the Eretrians, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of Sardis. On their arrival on the coasts of Ionia, they there drew together an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of 600 ships, and made the best preparations they could for this expedition against the Grecians.

Anno 492. Darius 30.

In the beginning of the next spring, [i] the two Persian generals having shipped their army, rendezvoused their whole fleet at Samos, and from thence sailed to Naxus; and, having there burned the chief city of the island, and all their temples, and taken in all the other islands in those seas, they shaped their course directly for Eretria; and, after a siege of seven days, took the city by the treachery of some of its chief inhabitants, and burned it to the ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then, passing over into Attica, they were led, by the guidance of Hippias, the late tyrant of Athens, into the plain of Marathon; where being met and fought with by 10,000 Athenians, and 1000 Plateans, under the leading of Miltiades, who was lately prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their ships, and sail back again into Asia with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this expedition, [k] saith Trogus, by the sword, shipwreck, and other ways, 200,000 men. But [l] Herodotus tells us, they were no more than 6400 that were slain in the field of battle; of which Hippias was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war.

Anno 491. Darius 31.

Datis and Artaphernes, on their return into Asia, [m] that they might shew some fruit of this expedition, sent the Eretrians

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[h] Herodotus, lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

[i] Herodotus, lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide et Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

[k] Justin, lib. 2. c. 9.

[l] Herodot. lib. 6.

[m] Herodot. lib. 6.

they had taken to Darius to Susa; who, without doing them any farther harm, sent them to dwell in a village of the region of Cissia, which was at the distance of about a day's journey from Susa, [n] where Apollonius Tyaneus found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

Darius [o] on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces from Attica, instead of being discouraged by that or the other disasters that had happened unto him in his attempts upon the Grecians, added the defeat of Marathon to the burning of Sardis as a new cause to excite him with the greater vigour to carry on the war against them. And therefore, resolving in person to make an invasion upon them with all his power, he sent orders through all the provinces, to arm the whole empire for it. But, after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new war broke out in the 4th by the revolt of the Egyptians. But Darius' heart was so earnestly set against the Grecians, that resolving his new rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time; and that, while part of his forces were sent to reduce Egypt, he would in person with the rest fall upon Greece. But he being now an old man, and there being a controversy between two of his sons, to which of them two the succession did belong, it was thought convenient, that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this expedition, lest otherwise, on his death, it might cause a civil war in the empire; for the preventing of which it was an ancient usage among the Persians, that, before their king went out to any dangerous war, his successor should be declared. The matter in dispute [p] stood thus. Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after it. Of the first Artabasanes (who is by some called Artemines, and by others Ariamenes) was the eldest, and of the latter Xerxes. Artabasanes urged that he was the eldest son; and therefore, according to the usage and custom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the succession before the younger. To this Xerxes replied, that he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus,

Anno 490. Darius 32.

Anno 487. Darius 35.

[n] Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 17. [o] Herodot. lib. 7.

[p] Herodotus, lib. 7. Justin, lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe et in Apophthegm, περὶ φιλαδελφίας.

who was the first founder of the Persian empire; and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it; and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the crown of Cyrus should come to a descendant of Cyrus, than to one who was not. And he further added, that it was true, Artabasanes was the eldest son of Darius; but that he was the eldest son of the king: for Artabasanes was born while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that pimogeniture could claim no more than to be heir to his private fortunes: but as to him, he was the first-born after his father was king, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the Lacedæmonians, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, should succeed before those who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by Damaratus, formerly king of Lacedæmon, who having been unjustly deposed by his subjects was then an exile in the Persian court. Hereupon Xerxes was declared the successor, though not so much by the strength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother Atossa had over the inclinations of Darius, who was absolutely governed in this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was, the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed: for, during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two brothers; and, when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so neither did the other repine, or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given; and although the elder brother lost the cause, yet he cheerfully submitted to the determination, wished his brother joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered to his interest, and at last died in his service, being slain fighting for him in the Grecian war; which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake, as that of a crown; the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break through all other considerations whatsoever, where there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

After the succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the Egyptian, as well as the Grecian war, [q]

[q] Herodot. lib. 7.

Darius fell sick and died, in the second year after the Egyptian revolt, having then reigned [r] 36 years; and Xerxes, according to the late determination, quietly succeeded in the throne. There are writers, [s] who place this determination after the death of Darius, and say, that it was settled by the judgment of Artabanus, uncle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this contest. But Herodotus, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us, that it was decided by Darius himself a little before his death. And his decision being that which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, Herodotus' account of it seemeth the much more probable of the two. An. 486. Darius 36.

Darius was a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and hath the honour [t] to have his name recorded in holy writ, for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein: for all which, God was pleased to make him his instrument: and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity; for although he were not altogether so fortunate in his wars against the Scythians and the Grecians, yet every where else he had full success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the empire of Cyrus, after it had been much shaken by Cambyses and the Magian, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of India, Thrace, Macedon, and the isles of the Ionian sea.

The Jews [u] have a tradition, that in the last year of Darius died the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; that thereon ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the children of Israel; and that this was the obsignation or sealing up of vision and prophecy [x] spoken of by the prophet Daniel. And, from the same tradition, they tell us, that the kingdom of the Persians ceased also the same year; for they will have it, that this was the Darius whom Alexander conquered; and that the whole continuance of the Persian empire was only 52 years; which they reckon thus: Darius the Median reigned one

[r] Ptolm. in Canone, Africanus, Euseb. &c.
[s] Justin, lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus περὶ φιλαδελφίας.
[t] Ezra v. and in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.
[u] Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemach David. Sedar Olam Zuta, &c.
[x] Daniel ix. 24.

year, Cyrus three years, Cambyses (who they say was the Ahasuerus who married Esther) 16 years, and Darius (whom they will have to be the son of Esther) 32 years. And this last Darius, according to them, was the Artaxerxes who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem, to restore the state of the Jews; for they tell us, that Artaxerxes, among the Persians, was the common name of their kings, as that of Pharaoh was among the Egyptians. This shews how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the Persian empire. And their countryman Josephus, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

In the time of his reign first appeared in Persia the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the Persians call Zerdusht, or Zaratush, and the Greeks, Zoroastres. The Greek and Latin writers much differ about him, some of them [y] will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was king of Bactria, and others that there were [z] several of the name, who lived in several ages, all famous in the same kind. But the oriental writers, who should best know, [a] all unanimously agree, that there was but one Zerdusht or Zoroastres; and that the time in which he flourished, was while Darius Hystaspis was king of Persia. It is certain he was no king, but one born of mean and obscure parentage, who did raise himself wholly by his craft in carrying on that imposture with which he deceived the world. They who place him so high as the time of Ninus, by whom, they say, he was slain in battle, follow the authority of Justin for it. But [b] Diodorus Siculus, out of Ctesias, tells us, that the king of Bactria, with whom Ninus had war, was called Oxyartes: and there are some ancient manuscripts of Justin [c] in which it is read Oxyartes, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and Zoroastres came into the text instead of it, by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by some critic, who, from the

[y] Justin, lib. 1. c. 1. Diog. Laertius in Proœmio, Plin. lib. 30. c. 1.

[z] Plin. lib. 36. c. 1. See Stanley of the Chaldaic philosophy, c. 2.

[a] Abulfaragius, Ishmael Abulfeda, Sharestani, &c. vide etiam Agathiam, lib. 2. et Thomam Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum, c. 24.

[b] Lib. 2. p. 94.

[c] So saith Ligerius.

character of the person, took upon him to alter the name; for he is there said, *Artes Magicas primo invenisse* i. e. *That he was the first inventor of Magianism*; which Zoroastres only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that sect, but only the restorer and reformer of it, as shall be hereafter shewn.

He was the greatest imposter, except Mahomet, that ever appeared in the world; and had all the craft and enterprising boldness of that Arab, but much more knowledge; for he was excellently skilled in all the learning of the East that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly versed in the Jewish religion, and in all the sacred writings of the Old Testament that were then extant, which makes it most likely, that he was, as to his origin, a Jew. And it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the prophets of Israel, and that it was by this means that he came to be so well skilled in the holy scriptures, and all other Jewish knowledge; which is a farther proof, that he was of that people; it not being likely, that a prophet of Israel should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a disciple, if he were not of the same seed of Israel, as well as of the same religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people, by principle of religion, as well as by long received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And it is farther to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his original, [d] say, that he was of Palestine, within which country the land of Judea was. And all this put together, amounts with me to a convincing proof, that he was first a Jew, and that by birth, as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian sect.

The prophet of Israel, to whom he was a servant, some [e] say, was Elias, and [f] others Ezra: but as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived. With this best agreeth what is said by a third sort of writers, [g] that it was one of the disciples of Jeremiah with whom he served; and, if so, it must have been either Ezekiel or Daniel;

[d] Religio veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde, c. 24.

[e] Abulfaragius, p. 54.

[f] Abu Mohammed Mustapha, Historicus Arab. Religio veterum Persarum, c. 24. p. 313.

[g] Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita Historico Arabe. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 314.

for, besides these two, there was no other prophet of Israel in those times, who could have been of the disciples of Jeremiah. And as Daniel was of age sufficient at his carrying away to Babylon (he having been then about 18 years old,) to have been sometime before under the discipline and tutorage of that prophet; so, having continued till about the end of the reign of Cyrus, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impostor; which cannot be said of Ezekiel: for we hear nothing more of him after the 27th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, which was the year next after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore it is most likely, that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be Daniel under whom this impostor served; and besides him there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge, both in things sacred and profane, which he was so well furnished with. And, no doubt, his seeing that great, good, and wise man arrive to such an height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one; hoping that, by acting this part well, he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said, that, by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that, while he served the prophet, under whom he was bred, he did, by some evil action, [h] draw on him his curse, and that thereon he was smitten with leprosy. But they who tell us this, seem to be such, who finding Eliah said to be his master, mistook Elisha for Eliah, and therefore thought Gehazi to have been the person.

He did not found a new religion, as his successor in imposture Mahomet did, but [i] only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the ancient national religion of the Medes, as well as of the Persians; for it having fallen under disgrace on the death of those ringleaders of that sect, who had usurped the sovereignty after the death of Cambyses, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low, that it became almost extinct, and Sabanism every

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[h] Megidi Persa. Buddari. Abu Mohammed Mustapha. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 113, 114, 115.

[i] Vidi Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 147—149. et Thomam Hyde de Religione Veterum Persarum.

where prevailed against it, Darius and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, Zoroastres saw, that the revival of this was the best game of imposture that he could then play; and, having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow which he inserted into it.

He first [k] made his appearance in Media, now called Aderbijan, in the city of Xix, say some; in that of Ecbatana, now Tauris, say others: for Smerdis having been of that province, it is most likely that the sect which he was of had still there its best rooting; and therefore the impostor thought he might in those parts, with the best success, attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the country in which he was born.

The chief reformation which he made in the Magian religion was [l] in the first principle of it: for whereas before they had held the being of two first causes, the first light, or the good god, who was the author of all good; and the other darkness, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continued struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in the 45th chapter of Isaiah, v. 5, 6, 7. "I am the Lord, and there is none else: there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil, I the Lord do all these things." For these words being directed to Cyrus, king of Persia, must be understood as spoken in reference to the Persian sect of the Magians, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the

[k] Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. Golii Notæ in Alfraganum, p. 207, & 227.

[l] Abul Feda. Ebn Shahna. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163. & c. 22. p. 299.

great God who is superior to both. And I doubt not it was from hence that Zoroastres had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was,[m] that God originally and directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine as to this particular was,[n] that there was one supreme Being independant and self-existing from all eternity. That[o] under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author and director of all evil; and that these two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the most is good, and where the angel of darkness prevails, there the most is evil; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that[p] then there shall be a general resurrection, and[q] a day of judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendered to all according to their works; after which[r] the angel of darkness, and his disciples, shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds; and the angel of light, and his disciples, shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all[s] this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do without any variation, after so many ages, still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to the truth, is plain enough to be understood without a comment. And

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[m] Shahristani. Religio vet. Persarum, c. 22. p. 299.

[n] Abulfeda. Shahristani. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22.

[o] Religio vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ. p. 148.

[p] Diogenes Laertius in Procemio. Plutarchus in Iside & Osiride. Shahristani. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 296.

[q] Relig. vet. Pers. c. 33.

[r] Shahristani. Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride. Religio vet. Pers. p. 299, 395, &c.

[s] Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's Travels.

whereas he taught, that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good, this plainly shews, that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed how that God at first created all his angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil became such wholly through their own fault, in falling from that state which God first placed them in. All which plainly shews the author of this doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the Jewish religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken; only the crafty impostor took care to dress it up in such a style and form, as would make it best agree with that old religion of the Medes and Persians which he grafted it upon.

Another reformation which he made in the Magian religion, was, [t] that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came: for whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills, and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where, often by rain, tempests, and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed; for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the public offices of their religion the better performed before them. For all the parts of their public worship were performed before these public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire, (for this they always disowned,) but God in the fire. For [u] Zoroastres, among other his impostures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as Mahomet after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the truest *Shechinah* of the divine presence; that the sun being the perfectest fire, God had there [x]

[t] Religio vet. Pers. c. 1. c. 8. & c. 29.

[u] Religio vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.

[x] Sanson in the present State of Persia, p. 185. Religio vet. Pers. c. 4.

the throne of his glory, and the residence of his divine presence, in a more excellent manner than any where else, and, next that, in the elementary fire with us; and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God, first towards the sun (which they called Mithra,) and next towards their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt; and their ordinary way of worship was to do so towards both: for when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that, having their faces towards them, and also toward the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both. And in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new institution of his: for thus to worship before fire and the sun, was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that sect; and according hereto it is, that we are to understand what we find in Ezekiel viii. 16. where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a vision to Jerusalem, to see the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there shewn him "about five and twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun." The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the Magians. For the holy of holies (in which was the *Shechinah* of the divine presence resting over the mercy-seat,) being on the western end of the temple at Jerusalem, all that entered thither to worship God did it with their faces turned that way: for that was their [y] *Kebla*, or the point towards which they always directed their worship. But the *Kebla* of the Magians being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is, towards the east. And therefore these twenty-five men, by altering their *Kebla*, are shewn to have altered their religion, and, instead of worshipping God according to the Jewish religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the Magians.

Zoroastres having thus retained, in his reformation of Magianism, the ancient usage of that sect in worshipping God

[y] Kebla, among the eastern nations, signifieth the point of the heavens towards which they directed their worship. The Jews did it towards the temple at Jerusalem, the Mahometans towards Mecca, the Sabians towards the Meridian, and the Magians towards the rising sun.

before fire, to give the sacred fires in the temples which he had erected the greater veneration, he pretended, that, when he was in heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst of fire, he [z] brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire, he [z] brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire-temple that he erected, (which was that [a] at Xix in Media,) from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason which is given for their so careful keeping of it: [b] for their priests watch it day and night, and never [c] suffer it to go out or be extinguished. And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with [d] wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean; and they never [d] did blow it, either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it: and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land, as long as those of that sect reigned in it, which, from the time of Zoroastres, to the death of Yazdejerd, the last Persian king of the Magian religion, was about 1150 years; yea, it went so far [e] that the priests themselves never approached this fire, but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon; and this they did, not only when they tended the fire, to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it, to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it: so that they mumbled over their prayers rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Popish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said; and, if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them; for all their public prayers are, even to this day, in the old Persian language, in which Zoroastres first composed them, about 2200 years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word; and in this absurdity also have they the Romanists partakers with

[z] Religio vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.

[a] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 227.

[b] Strabo, lib. 15. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23. Agathias, lib. 2.

[c] Religio vet. Pers. c. 28. p. 351. and c. 29. p. 355.

[d] Strabo, lib. 15. Religio vet. Pers. ibid.

[e] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 732. Religio vet. Pers. c. 30.

them. When Zoroastres composed his liturgy, the old Persic was then indeed the vulgar language of all those countries where this liturgy was used: and so was the Latin throughout all the western empire, when the Latin service was first used therein. But when the language changed, they would not consider, that the change which was made thereby, in the reason of the thing, did require that a change should be made in their liturgy also, but retained it the same after it ceased to be understood, as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason that produced this absurdity in both of them: though it must be acknowledged, that the Magians have more to say for themselves in this matter than the Romanists; for they are taught, that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, though they stick to it as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us, against altering any thing in our liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass: for all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former; and therefore, as we do not now understand the English which was here spoken by our ancestors 300 or 400 years ago, so, in all likelihood, will not our posterity 300 or 400 years hence understand that which is now spoken by us. And, therefore, should our liturgy be still continued, without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language as now the Roman service is to the vulgar of that communion.

But, to return to the reformations of Zoroastres; how much he followed the Jewish platform in the framing of them, doth manifestly appear from the particulars I have mentioned; for most of them were taken, either from the sacred writings, or the sacred usages of that people. Moses heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the bush, and all Israel heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from mount Sinai: hence Zoroastres pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst of a flame of fire. The Jews had a visible *Shechina* of the divine presence among them resting over the mercy-seat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore Zoroastres taught his Magians to pretend to the like, and to hold the sun, and the sacred fires in their fire-temples, to be this *Shechina* in which God especially dwelt;

and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both. The Jews had a sacred fire which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt-offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, inextinguishably maintain: and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made, and Nadab and Abihu were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. And in like manner Zoroastres pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven; and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar, where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguished, from any other fire, than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the Jews, [f] that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up either with bellows or the breath of man for the kindling of it; hence Zoroastres [g] ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his Magians, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oil and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the Jewish religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it.

Zoroastres, having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, sent to reform the old religion of the Persians, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions, [h] he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time as a recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and, the more to amuse the people who there resorted to him, he dressed up his cave with several mystical figures, representing Mithra, and other mysteries of their religion; from whence it became

[f] See Lightfoot's Temple-service.

[g] Religio Veterum Persarum, c. 29. & c. 30.

[h] Porphyrius in libro de Nympharum Antro, p. 254. Edit. Cant.

for a long while after a usage among them to choose such caves for their devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner, were called Mithratic caves. While he was in this retirement, he composed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And Mahomet exactly followed his example herein; for he also retired to a cave some time before he broached his imposture, and, by the help of his accomplices, there formed the Alcoran, wherein it is contained. And [i] Pythagoras, on his return from Babylon to Samos, in imitation of his master Zoroastres (whom [k] Clemens Alexandrinus tells us he emulously followed,) had there in like manner his cave to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abode both day and night, and for the same end as Zoroastres did in his, that is, to get himself the greater veneration from the people: for Pythagoras acted a part of imposture as well as Zoroastres, and this perchance he also learned from him.

After he had thus acted the part of a prophet in Media, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into [l] Bactria, the most eastern province of Persia, and there settled in the city of Balch, which lies on the river Oxus, in the confines of Persia, India, and Cowaresmia; where, under the protection of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, he soon spread his imposture through all that province with great success: for although Darius, after the slaughter of the Magians, had, with most of his followers, gone over to the sect of the Sabians; yet Hystaspes still adhered to the religion of his ancestors, and having fixed his residence at Balch (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the empire under his son,) did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And, in order to give it the greater reputation, [m] he went in person into India among the Brachmans, and, having there learned from them all their knowledge in Mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, he brought it back among his Magians, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of those times, skilful in these sciences, especially after they had been farther instructed in them by

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[i] Porphyrius in Vita Pythagoræ, p. 184. Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in Vita Pythagoræ, c. 5.

[k] Strom. 1. p. 223.

[l] Abu Japhar Tabarita. Bundari. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24.

[m] Ammianus Mercellinus, lib. 23.

Zoroastres, who was the greatest mathematician, and the greatest philosopher of the age in which he lived; and therefore took care to improve his sect, not only in their religion, but also in all natural knowledge; which so much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a Magian became equivalent terms. And this proceeded so far, that the vulgar looking on their knowledge to be more than natural, entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by supernatural powers, in the same manner as, too frequently among us, ignorant people are apt to give great scholars, and such as are learned beyond their comprehensions (as were Friar Bacon, [n] Dr. Faustus, and [o] Cornelius Agrippa,) the name of conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of Magians, drew on it that ill signification, which now the word Magician bears among us; whereas the true and ancient Magians [p] were the great mathematicians, philosophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what by their own study, and the instructions of the ancients of their sect, they had improved themselves in.

But it is not to be understood, that all Magians, that is, all of the sect, were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is, their priests; for they being all [q] of the same tribe, as among the Jews (none but the son of a priest being capable of being a priest among them,) they mostly appropriated their learning to

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[n] John Faust was the first inventor of printing at Mentz, and from thence being taken for a conjurer, that story is here in England made of him, which goes under the name of Dr. Faustus.

[o] That which contributes most to the opinion, that Cornelius Agrippa was a Magician, is an impertinent book published under his name, intitled, *De Occulta Philosophia*, which that learned man was never the author of; for it is not to be found in the folio edition of his works, in which only those that are genuine and truly his are contained.

[p] Dion Chrysostomus tells us *(in Oratione Borysthenica,)* that the Persians call them Magians who are skilled in the worship of the gods, and not as the Greeks, who being ignorant of the meaning of the word, call them so who were skilful in gœtic Magic, *i. e.* that which juglers and conjurers pretend to make use of.

[q] Religio vet. Pers. c. 30. p. 367. Theodoreti Hist. Eccles lib. 5. c. 38.

and s wn families, transmitting it in them from father to son, those eldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to the of the royal family, [r] whom they are bound to instruct, better to fit them for government; and therefore there were some of them, as tutors as well as chaplains, always residing in the palaces of their kings. And whether it were, that these Magians thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the kings, that it would add a greater sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the royal family among the Persians, as long as this sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the sacerdotal tribe. They were divided into [s] three orders. The lowest were the inferior clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship: next above them were the superintendents, who in their several districts governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops do with us: and above all was the Archimagus, or arch-priest, who, in the same manner as the high-priest among the Jews, or the Pope now among the Romanists, was the head of the whole religion. And, according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which they officiated were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the parochial churches, or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us; and the duties which they there performed were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and, at stated and solemn times, to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire-altars; but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were, in the same manner as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the superintendents resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who, in the same manner as the choral vicars among us, performed all the divine offices under the superintendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might always be kept burning, and never go out. *3dly*, The highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the Archimagus resided, which

[r] Plato in Alcibiade, 1. Stobæus, p. 496. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogo 1. p. 81.

[s] Religio vet. Pers. cap. 28. & cap. 30.

was had in the same veneration with them as the temple of Mecca among the Mahometans, to which every one of that sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. Zoroastres first settled it at Balch, and there he, as their Archimagus, usually had his residence. But after the Mahometans had over-run Persia, in the 7th century after Christ, the Archimagus was forced to remove from thence into Kerman, which is a province in Persia, lying upon the Southern ocean, towards India, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there erected, at the place of his residence, do they now pay the same veneration as formerly they did to that of Balch. This temple of the Archimagus, as also the other fire-temples, were endued with large revenues in lands: but the parochial clergy depended solely on the tithes and offerings of the people; for this usage also had Zoroastres taken from the Jewish church, and made it one of his establishments among his Magians.

The impostor having thus settled his new scheme of Magianism throughout the province of Bactria, with the same success as he had before in Media, he [t] went next to the royal court at Susa, where he managed his pretensions with that craft, address, and insinuation, that he soon got within Darius himself, and made him a proselyte to his new reformed religion; whose example, in a short time, drew after it into the same profession the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This happened in the 30th year of Darius; and, although it succeeded not without great opposition from the ringleaders of the Sabians, who were the opposite sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that country, and so continued for many ages after, till this imposture was at last supplanted by that of Mahomet, which was raised almost by the same arts. They who professed this religion [u] in Lucian's time, as reckoned up by him, were the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Cowaresmians, the Arians, the Sacans, the Medes, and many other barbarous nations; but, since that, the new imposture hath grown up to the suppressing of the old in all these countries. However, there is a remnant of these Magians still remaining in Persia and India, who even to this day observe the same religion which Zoro-

[t] Religio vet. Pers. c. 24.
[u] Lucian de Longævis.

astres first taught them; for they still have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner as the Christians do the Bible, and the Mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole rule both of their faith and manners.

This [x] book the impostor composed while he lived in his retirement in the cave; and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he presented it to Darius, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each consisted of 100 skins of vellum; for it [y] was the usage of the Persians in those times to write all on skins. This book is called Zendavesta, and, by contraction, Zend; the vulgar pronounce it Zundavestow, and Zund. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a tinder-box with us; which fantastical name the impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better understanding of which, it is to be observed, that, in those eastern countries, their way of kindling fire, is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane one against another, till one of them takes fire: and such a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impostor would have his book to be; and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their liturgy, which is still used among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or disagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence, in their language, they call a righteous action *Zend-aver, i. e. what the book Zend allows*, and an evil action *Na-Zend-aver, i. e. which the book Zend disallows*. This book Zoroastres feigned to have received from heaven, as Mahomet afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his Alcoran. It is still preserved among them in the old Persian language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple, even to this day, there is a copy of it kept (in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every parish church,) out of which, on certain stated times, the priests read a portion of it to the people. [z] Dr. Hyde, late professor of the Hebrew and Arabic

[x] Religio vet. Pers. c. 25, & 26.
[y] Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.
[z] Vide eundem De Religione veterum Persarum, cap. 1. p. 25.

tongues at Oxford, being well skilled in the old Persic, as well as the modern, offered to have published the whole of it with a Latin translation, could he have been supported in the expences of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement, the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world: for a book of that antiquity, no doubt, would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

In this book are found a great many things [a] taken out of the scriptures of the Old Testament, besides those I have already mentioned; which farther proves the author's original to have been what I have said: for therein he inserts a great part of the psalms of David; he makes Adam and Eve to have been the first parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same history of the creation and the deluge that Moses doth; only as to the former, whereas Moses tells us, that all things were created in six days, Zoroastres converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days; so that, putting them all together, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to 365 days, that is, a whole year. He speaks therein also of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, in the same manner as the scriptures do. And, out of a particular veneration for Abraham, he called his book *the book of Abraham*, and his religion the *religion of Abraham*: for he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced, was no more, than to bring back the religion of the Persians to that original purity in which Abraham practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this Mahomet also (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his religion: for the name of Abraham hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the East, and among all sects; so that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themselves to him: for not only the Jews, the Magians, and the Mahometans, but the Sabians, and also the Indians (if the Brahama of the latter be Abraham, as it is with good reason supposed,) all challenge him to themselves, as the great

[a] Pockockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 148. Religio veterum Persarum.

patriarch and founder of their sev[illegible] them pretending, that their religion [illegible] ham professed, and by his reform[illegible] them: and to restore this reformatio[illegible] Mahomet, and the author of the [illegible] was, pretended to. This veneratio[illegible] parts, proceeded from the great fam[illegible] (it is supposed) there spread among them by the Israelites in their dispersion all over the East, first on the Assyrian, and after on the Babylonish captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own; and therefore all laid claim to him. And, in this book, Zoroastres commands also the same observances about beasts clean and unclean, as Moses doth; gives the same law of paying tithes to the sacerdotal order; injoins the same care of avoiding all external, as well as all internal pollutions; the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves, by frequent washings; the same keeping of the priesthood always within the same tribe, and the same ordaining of one high priest over all; and several other institutions are also therein contained of the same Jewish extraction. The rest of its contents are an historical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reformed superstition, and rules and exhortations to moral living; in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is, about incest: for therein he wholly takes this away, and, as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, [b] allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother; and it went so far with that sect in the practice, that, in the sacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this last and worst sort of incest, was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal function; none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it, than those that were born of mothers who conceived them of their own sons; which was such an abomination, that though all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The Persian kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their sect.

[b] Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Strabo, lib. 15. Philo Judæus de specialibus legibus, p. 778. Tertullian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagog. 1. p. 81. et Strom. 3. p. 314.

But [c] Alexander, when he conquered Persia, did put an end to this abomination; for he did by a law forbid all such incestuous copulations among them.

Zoroastres having obtained this wonderful success, in making his imposture to be thus received by the king, the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, [d] he returned back again to Balch; where, according to his own institution, he was obliged to have his residence, as Archimagus, or head of the sect; and there he reigned in spirituals, with the same authority over the whole empire, as the king did in temporals; and from hence perchance might proceed the mistake of making him king of Bactria, Balch being in that province. And his being said to have been there slain in battle by Ninus, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that country, although from another hand: for, after his return to Balch, having enterprised upon Argasp, king of the oriental Scythians (who was a zealous Sabian,) to draw him over to his religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of Darius, the more prevalently to induce him to it, the Scythian prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded Bactria with an army; and having there defeated the forces of Darius that opposed him, slew Zoroastres, with all the priests of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of 80 persons, and demolished all the fire temples in that province. This happened in the 35th year of the reign of Darius. The Persians tell us, that Lorasp, or Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was slain also in the same war. But, if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old; for, allowing him to have been no more than 20 on his first coming with Cyrus out of Persia, he must now have been 93 years old. But this is no strange thing in those parts: for the air being thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury, usually live to a great age: of which we have lately had two instances, in Aurang-Zeb, king of India, and Rajah-Singah, king of Candia, in the island of Ceylon, the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near 100, and the other about twenty years before, much older.

[c] Plutarchus de Fortuna Alexandri.

[d] Religio vet. Pers. c. 24.

But Darius soon revenged the injury upon the Scythian king: for, falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that at Balch; which he erected with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the sect; and therefore, from the name of its restorer, it was thenceforth called [c] Azur Gustasp, *i. e.* the fire temple of Darius Hystaspes. And the care which he took in this matter, shews the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its author with the same ardour as before. And, the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their Archimagus: for [f] Porphyry tells us, he ordered before his death, that, among other his titles, it should be engraven on his monument, that he was *Master of the Magians*; which plainly implies, that he bore this office among them, (for none but the Archimagus was master of the whole sect.) But it was not long that he was in it; for he died the next year after. However, from hence it seems to have proceeded that the kings of Persia were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always [g] initiated into the sacred order of the Magians, before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

The [h] Greeks had the name of Zoroastres in great esteem, speaking of him as the great master of all human and divine knowledge. [i] Plato, [k] Aristotle, [l] Plutarch, and [m] Porphyry, mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning; and so do others. [n] Pliny saith much of him; and particularly remarks, that he was the only person that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it;

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[c] Religio veterum Persarum, c. 23.
[f] Porphyrius de Abstinentia, lib. 4. p. 165. edit. Cant.
[g] Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
[h] Diogenes Laertius in Procœmio.
[i] In Alcibiade 1.
[k] In libro de Magia citante Lærtio in Procœmio.
[l] De Iside et Osiride.
[m] In vita Pythagoræ.
[n] Lib. 30. c. 1. and lib. 7. c. 16.

which last, he saith, was a presage of his future learning. Solinus tells us the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth; and saith, that [o] he was *Optimarum artium peritissimus, i. e. Most skilful in the knowledge of the best arts.* And Apuleius' character of him is, that he was [p] *Omnis divini arcani antistes, i. e. The chief doctor in all divine mysteries.* Cedrenus names him as a famous astronomer among the Persians, and [q] Suidas saith of him, that he excelled all others in that science. And this reputation he still hath over all the East, even among those who are most averse to his sect to this very day: for they all there, as well Mahometans as Sabians, give him [r] the title of Hakim, that is, of a wise and learned philosopher, and reckon him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers. And particularly Ulugh Beigh, that famous and learned Tartarian prince, writing a book of astronomy and astrology, doth therein [s] prefer Zoroastres before all others for his skill and knowledge in these sciences. It is to be observed also, that they who write of Pythagoras, do almost all of them tell us, that he was the scholar of Zoroastres, at Babylon, and learned of him most of that knowledge which afterwards rendered him so famous in the West. So saith [t] Apuleius, and so say, [u] Jamblichus, [x] Porphyry, and [y] Clemens Alexandrinus; (for the Zabratus or Zaratus of Porphyry, and the Na-Zaratus of Clemens, were none other than this Zoroastres;) and they relate the matter thus: that when Cambyses conquered Egypt, [z] he found Pythagoras there on his travels, for the improvement of himself in the learning of that country; that, having taken him prisoner, he sent him with other captives to Babylon, where Zoroastres (or Zabratus, as Porphyry calls him) then lived; and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern

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[o] Cap. 1.
[p] Floridorum secunda.
[q] In vocibus Μάγοι & Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρης.
[r] Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 312.
[s] Ibid.
[t] Floridorum secundo.
[u] In vita Pythagoræ, c. 4.
[x] In vita Pythagoræ, p. 185. edit. Cant.
[y] Strom. 1. p. 223.
[z] Jamblichus de vita Pythagoræ, c. 4. Apuleius Floridorum secundo.

learning. The words of Porphyry are, 'That by Zabratus he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learned from him the discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the universe.' This story may well enough agree with the time of Zoroastres, but it cannot do so with the time of Pythagoras; what is therein said of his being carried captive to Babylon, it is possible might have happened when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt, but could not be when it was conquered by Cambyses; [b] the chronology of the life of Pythagoras may very well admit of the former, but can never of the latter: for, by that time Cambyses had conquered Egypt, Pythagoras had been settled in Italy above 20 years, after all his travels were over, and was then grown an old man, being then about the 63d year of his age. But, however that Pythagoras was at Babylon, and learned there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards so famous for, is agreed by [c] all, though there may be some error, as to the time when he is said to have been there, or the manner how he came hither. His stay there, [d] Jamblichus tells us, was 12 years: and that, in his converse with the Magians, he learned from them (over and above what hath been afore mentioned out of Porphyry) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence, was that of the immortality of the soul: for it is generally agreed among the ancients, [e] that he was the first of all the Greeks that taught it. And this I take for certain he had from Zoroastres; for, as I have afore shewn, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But Pythagoras did not bring this doctrine into Greece with that purity in which he received it from his master; for having corrupted it with a mixture of the Indian philosophy (for this also he had learned in the East,) he made this immortality to [f] consist in an eter-

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[a] In vita Pythagoræ, p. 285. edit. Cant.

[b] See the bishop of Worcester's tract of the life of Pythagoras.

[c] Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius et Jamblichus in vita Pythagoræ.

[d] Jamblichus in vita Pythagoræ, lib. 4.

[e] Porphyrius in vita Pythagoræ, p. 188. et 201. edit. Cant. Jamblichus in vita Pythagoræ, c. 30.

[f] Porphyrius in vita Pythagoræ, p. 17. edit. Cant. et Jamblichus et Diogenes Laertius in vita ejusdem.

nal transmigration of the soul from one body to another; whereas Zoroastres' doctrine was, [g] that there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as [h] Daniel taught, and the people of God then held, and we now; and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

Some of the [i] ancient heretics, especially the followers of Prodicus, pretended to have the secret books of Zoroastres containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these Plotinus [k] and Porphyry did both write, and fully shewed them to have been the forgeries of the Gnostic Christians. And others have gathered together out of Proculus, Simplicius, Damascius Synesius, Olympiodorus, and other writers, what they call the oracles of Zoroastres; and several editions have been published of them in Greek with the scholia or comments of Pletho and Psellus. But all these are mere figments coined by the Platonic philosophers, who lived after the time of Christ, and are condemned as such by [l] St. Chrysostome, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. Stanley's book of the Chaldaic philosophy, which is published at the end of his history of philosophy, where they will find them translated into English from the collection of Francis Patricius.

Abul-Pharagius tells us, that [m] Zerdusht (or Zoroastres) foretold to his Magians the coming of Christ, and that, at the time of his birth, there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day, as well as by night; and therefore left it in command with them, that when the star should appear, they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him; and that it was by this command, that the three wise men came from the East, that is, out of Persia,

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[g] Diog. Laertius in Procemio.

[h] Chap. xii. 2, 3.

[i] Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. 1. p. 223.

[k] Vide Lucam Holstenium de vita et scriptis Porphyrii, c. 9. p. 57. edit. Cant.

[l] In vita Babylæ Martyris.

[m] Historia Dynastiarum, p. 54.

to worship Christ at Bethlehem. And so far [n] Shariston, though a Mahometan writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, that Zerdusht (or Zoroastres) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness; and that kings and princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophecy of Zoroastres, [o] others refer to the prophecy of Balaam; and say, that it was by his prediction, that the wise men were led by the star to seek Christ in Judea, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the Legendary writings of the Eastern Christians. And Abul-Pharagius though an Arab writer, being by religion a Christian, it is most likely, that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

Those who are still remaining of this sect in Persia [p] have there the name of Gaurs, which in the Arabic signifieth Infidels, and is the usual appellation which the Mahometans bestow on all that are not of their religion. But those people have this name in Persia by way of eminency, as if there were none other such like them; and therefore they are there called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that country, and whosoever speaks of a Gaur there, understands none other by it, than one of this sect. They have a suburb at Hispahan, the metropolis of Persia, which is called Gaurabad, or the town of the Gaurs, where they are employed only in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. And some of them are scattered abroad in other places of that country, where they are made use of in the like services. But the bulk of them is in Kerman, which being the most barren and worst province of all Persia, and where others care not to dwell, the Mahometans have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom, and the full exercise of their religion. But every where else they use them as dogs, esteeming them as to their religion the worst of all those that differ from them; and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since, for the avoiding of it, several of them fled into India, and settled

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[n] Religio vet. Pers. c. 31. p. 382, 383.

[o] Theodorus Tarsensis.

[p] Thevenot's Travels. Sanson's present state of Persia. Tavernier Religio vet. Pers. c. 29.

MACEDONIA
THRACIA
EPIRUS
GRÆCIA
ANTIQUA.

there in the country about Surat, where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And [q] a colony of them is settled in Bombay, an island in those parts belonging to the English, where they are allowed, without any molestation, the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are a poor, harmless sort of people, zealous in their superstition, rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the belief of a resurrection and a future judgment, and utterly detesting all idolatry, although reckoned by the Mahometans the most guilty of it; for although they perform their worship before fire, and towards the rising sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them. They hold, that more of God is in these his creatures than in any other, and that therefore they worship God towards them, as being in their opinion the truest *Shechinah* of the divine presence among us, as darkness is that of the devil's; and as to Zoroastres, they still have him in the same veneration, as the Jews have Moses, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he sent his law, and communicated his will unto them.)

Xerxes, having ascended the throne, [r] employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He [s] confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God in that place. An. 485. Xerxes 1.

In the second year of his reign, he marched against the Egyptians, and, having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these revolters, he [t] reduced them under an heavier yoke of servitude than they were before; and then towards the end of the year, after having made Achemenes, one of his brothers, governor of the province, returned again to Susa. An. 484. Xerxes 2.

This year Herodotus, the famous historian, [u] was born at Halicarnassus in Caria; for he was 53 years old when the Peloponesian war first began.

Xerxes being puffed up with his success against the Egyp-

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[q] Ovington's Travels.
[r] Herodotus, lib. 7.
[s] Josephus, Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.
[t] Herodotus, lib. 7.
[u] Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.

tians, upon the advice and instigation of Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, who had married one of his sisters, [x] resolved upon a war with Greece; and, in order thereto, made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the Persian empire.

An. 483. Xerxes 3.

Jeshua the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, [y] died in the 53d year of his high-priesthood, and [z] Jehoiakim his son succeeded him in that office.

Xerxes, being resolved on the Grecian war, [a] entered into a league with the Carthaginians: whereby it was agreed, that, while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on all those who were of the Grecian name in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the Carthaginians made choice of Hamilcar to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great number of mercenaries out of Spain, Gallia, and Italy; so that he got together an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this league.

An. 482. Xerxes 4.

And thus Xerxes, according as was foretold by the prophet Daniel, [b] having, *by his strength, and through his great riches, stirred up all* the then known habitable world *against the realm of Grecia*, that is, all the West, under the command of Hamilcar, and all the East under his own, he did, [c] in the 5th year of his reign, which was [d] the 10th after the battle of Marathon, set out from Susa to begin the war, and having marched as far as Sardis, wintered there.

An. 481. Xerxes 5.

Early the next spring [e] Xerxes did set out for the Hellespont; over which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army, and the other for his carriages and beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days; during all which time they were continually a passing day and night, before all could get over; so great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching through the Thracian Chersonesus,

An. 480. Xerxes 6.

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[x] Herodotus, lib. 7.
[y] Chronicon Alexandrinum.
[z] Nehemiah xii. 10. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5.
[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 11.
[b] Daniel xi. 2.
[c] Herodot. lib. 7.
[d] Thucydides, lib. 1.
[e] Herodot. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle et Aristide. Justin, lib. 2. c. 10.

he arrived at Doriscus, a city at the mouth of the river Hebrus, in Thracia; at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His land army, upon the muster, was found to be 1,700,000 foot, and 80,000 horse, besides his chariots and his camels, for which, allowing 20,000 more, the whole will amount to 1,800,000 men. His fleet consisted of 1207 ships of the line of battle, besides gallies, transports, victuallers, and other sorts of vessels that attended which were 3000 more; on board all which were reckoned to be 517, 610 men. So that the whole number of forces by sea and land, which Xerxes brought with him out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to 2,317,610 men. After his passing the Hellespont, the nations on this side, that submitted to him, added to his land army 300,000 men more, and 220 ships to his fleet, on board of which were 24,000 men. So that, putting all together, his forces by sea and land, by that time he came to the straits of the Thermopylæ, made up the number of 2,641,610 men. And the servants, eunuchs, women sutlers, and all such other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of persons of all sorts, that followed Xerxes in this expedition, were at least five millions. This is [f] Herodotus' account of them, and [g] Plutarch and [h] Isocrates agree with him herein. But [i] Diodorus Siculus, [k] Pliny, [l] Ælian, and others, do, in their computations, fall much short of this number, making the army of Xerxes, with which he passed the Hellespont against Greece, to be very little more than that with which Darius his father passed the Bosphorus to make war upon the Scythians. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraved on the monument of those Grecians, who were slain at Thermopylæ, best agree with the account of Herodotus; for in them it is said, [m] that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it happened, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance

[f] Herodot. lib. 7.
[g] In Themistocle.
[h] In Panathenaico.
[i] Lib. 11.
[k] Lib. 33. c. 10.
[l] Var. Histor. lib. 13. c. 3.
[m] Herodot. lib. 7. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. p. 26. This inscription, according to the reading as in Herodotus, saith they were three millions, but as in Diodorus only two millions.

of exactness than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest; and that especially since we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both Greeks and Latins, that this was the greatest army that was ever brought into the field.

Josephus tells us, [n] that a band of Jews was also in this army, and brings for proof of it a passage out of the poet Chœrilus, who, in describing the army of Xerxes, as they passed on by their several nations in their march, hath these verses.

Then next did march, in habit and in mien,
A people wonderful for to be seen:
Their language is in dialect the same,
Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
They dwell in the high Solymæan land,
On hills, near which there doth a great lake stand.

Jerusalem, having also had the name of [o] Solyma, and all the country thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great lake Asphaltites, commonly called the lake of Sodom, this description seems plainly to suit the Jews, especially since it is also mentioned, that they spake the Phœnician language, the Syriac being then the vulgar language of the Jews. But [p] Scaliger, Cunæus, [q] and [r] Bochartus, understand it of the Solymi in Pisidia. However [s] Salmasius maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies Josephus in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely, that when Xerxes called all the other nations of the Persian empire to follow him to this war, the Jews alone should be excused from it. And therefore whether these, whom Chœrilus speaks of, were Jews or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this expedition.

After Xerxes had taken this account of his fleet and army at Doriscus, [t] he marched from thence with his army through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, towards Attica, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coast all the way, making the

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[n] Contra Apionem, lib. 1.
[o] By Abbreviation for Hierosolyma.
[p] In Notis ad Fragmenta.
[q] De Republica Hebræorum, lib. 2. c. 18.
[r] Geographia Sacra, part 2. lib. 1. c. 2.
[s] In Ossilegio Linguæ Hellenisticæ.
[t] Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle.

same stations by sea that he did by land. All yielded to him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ; where Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, with 300 Spartans, and as many other Greeks as made up a body of 4000 men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous army of the Persians, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be surrounded by the Persians, through the treachery of a certain Greek, who led them by a secret way over the mountains, to fall on them in the rear, all retired, saving Leonidas and his 300 Spartans, and some few others that would not desert them, who, resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the Persians paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it 20,000 of their men, and among them two of the brothers of Xerxes.

After this Xerxes [u] entered through Bœotia into Attica, the country of the Athenians; having spent in his march hither since his passing the Hellespont four months. The Athenians not able to defend themselves against so great a force, deserted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and securing their wives and children in Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, neighbouring cities, which, by the intervention of the sea, were out of the reach of his army; so that, on his coming thither, he became master of the place, without any opposition.

In the interim, the Persian and Grecian [x] fleets lying near each other, the former at Ephetæ, and the other at Artimisium, above Eubœa, had several encounters with each other, in every one of which the Grecians had the advantage; and though it was not great, yet it served them to shew, that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible; which gave them the heart afterwards, with the greater courage and resolution, to fight against them. However, their ships being much shattered by these several encounters, they found it necessary to retire to some safer place to refit; and for this purpose came into the straits of Salamis, where

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[u] Herodot. lib. 8. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle.

[x] Herodot. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diod. Siculus, lib. 11.

they not only refitted, but were also reinforced and augmented by a great many other ships, which from several parts of Greece, came thither to them, and there joined them against the common enemy, till at length they made up a fleet upward of 300 sail. It was while they lay there, that Xerxes entered Athens; and thereon the Persian fleet came hither also, and anchored at Phalerus, a port on that shore. The straits of Salamis, where the Greek fleet lay, was the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in that they could choose: for the Persians, by reason of the narrowness of that sea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the Greeks, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but although their fleet was four times as great, must in that place fight upon equal terms; which Themistocles the general of the Athenians, having wisely observed, did, by his prudence and dexterity, bring it to pass, that there it came to a battle between them; wherein the Grecians, by the advantage of the place, gained the victory, and gave the enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greatest, both for expence and number of men, that was ever undertaken; for they having destroyed 200 of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the Asian coast; and having set in at Cyma, a city in Æolia, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into Greece; and Xerxes being frighted with an apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the Hellespont, and there obstruct his return, fled thither with all the haste and precipitation he could, and, having left Mardonius with 300,000 men to carry on the war in Greece, marched back with the rest to Sardis, and there took up his quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that, at his coming to the Hellespont, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by storms, he who had passed over that sea but a few months before with such pomp and pride, was forced to repass it in a poor fisher-boat.

About the same time [y] his confederates, the Carthaginians, met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat, in Sicily: for Hamilcar their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their transportation, sailed with them for Sicily, and having there landed

[y] Herodotus, lib. 7. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11.

them at Panormus, a port in that island, laid siege to Himera, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security, he caused two large camps to be fortified; in the one of which he lodged his land army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time Gelo was king of Sicily, a prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this invasion, he drew together an army of 50,000 foot, and 5000 horse, and marched immediately against the enemy for the defence of the country. On his arrival at Himera, he intercepted a courier carrying letters from the Salinuntines, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar; whereby he understood, that the next morning Hamilcar was to celebrate a great sacrifice to Neptune at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the Salinuntine horse then to come thither to him. Gelo, taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning, at the time appointed, sent thither a party of horse of his own, who being received into the camp for the Salinuntines, first slew Hamilcar, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, Gelo having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battle. But the flame ascending from the camp of the marines, soon telling the Carthaginians the fate of their fleet, and a messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this so disheartened and confounded them, that, having no longer any courage to stand their ground, they were soon put to the rout, and Gelo slew of them 150,000 on the field of battle, and took all the rest prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves; so that all Sicily was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that of all this prodigious fleet and army the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it is remarked none returned, save only a few, who escaped in a cock-boat, to bring this dismal news to Carthage. [z] Herodotus tells us, that this battle was fought on the same day with that of Salamis; But [a] Diodorus Siculus says it was at the time when Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ; which seems to be the truer account of the two: for, after this success of Gelo, [b] the Grecians sent to him for his assistance against Xerxes, which they would not have done

[z] Lib. 7. [a] Lib. 11 [b] Herodot. lib. 7.

after the battle of Salamis. For from thenceforth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finish the war.

On Xerxes' departure out of Greece, [c] Mardonius wintered his army in Thessaly and Macedonia, and early the next spring marched with it into Bœotia. From hence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, to Athens, with proposals of accommodation from the king. Thereby he offered them to rebuild, at the king's charges, whatsoever had been burned or demolished in Attica the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatsoever lands they should desire. But the Athenians, not being to be induced to desert the interest of Greece for any advantage whatsoever, would hearken to none of these offers: whereon [d] Mardonius, being enraged by the refusal, marched with all his army into Attica, destroying every thing wherever he came, and, entering Athens, burned and demolished whatsoever he there found standing after the former year's devastation: for the Athenians not being strong enough to resist such a torrent, had the second time withdrawn to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, and left the city empty. In the interim, the joint forces of all Greece being drawn together at the isthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back again into Bœotia: for that being an open and level country, was much fitter for him to fight in than Attica, which being rough and craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could scarce any were afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any service in. On his return, he encamped on the river Æsopus: thither the Greeks marched after him, under the command of Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, and Aristides, general of the Athenians. They consisted of 120,000 men, and the Persians of 350,000, saith [e] Herodotus, of 500,000, saith [f] Diodorus Siculus: and with these forces, near the city of Platæa, it came to a decisive battle between them, in which Mardonius was slain, and all the Persian army cut in pieces. Only Artabazus, who was aware of the event, from the ill conduct which he had observed in Mardonius,

An. 479. Xerxes 7.

[c] Herodot. lib. 8. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14.
[d] Herodot. lib. 9. [e] Lib. 9. [f] Lib. 11.

made an early escape with 40,000 men, which he commanded, and, by his speed, outmarching the fame of the defeat, got safe to Byzantium, and there passed over into Asia. Besides these, not 4000 of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the Greeks; and this quite delivered them from all farther invasions of that people; for from that time a Persian army was never more seen on this side the Hellespont.

On the same day that the Greeks fought this battle at Platæa, [g] their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the Persian fleet in Asia: for at the same time that their land forces rendezvoused at the isthmus of Corinth, their fleet having met together at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides, the other king of the Lacedæmonians, and Xantippus, the Athenian, there came thither to them ambassadors from the Ionians, to invite them into Asia, to deliver the Greek cities there from the slavery of the Barbarians: whereon they sailed for Delos in their way thither; and, while they lay there, other ambassadors came to them from Samos, who having acquainted them, that the Persian fleet which wintered at Cyma, having sailed thence, were then at Samos, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them; whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for Samos. But the Persians, hearing of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory on the continent of Asia, where their land army lay, consisting of 100,000 men, which were the remainder of those which Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the former year; and there drew up their ships upon the land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the Greeks following them thither, by the assistance of the Ionians, who revolted to them, vanquished their army at land, took their rampart, and burned all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of Xerxes in a most miserable disappointment, there being, after these two battles, scarce any of all that prodigious army, with which, the year before, he marched so proudly over the Hellespont, now left, whom either the famine, the pestilence, or the sword, had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom Artabazus brought back out of Greece; and of these a great number died, on their return into Asia, by their over-glutting themselves with the plenty of that country, after the hardships

[g] Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

they had suffered on the other side of the Hellespont. A greater fleet and army was scarce ever set forth in the West for any expedition, than that of Hamilcar's against Sicily, or ever was there a greater army brought together any where, than that wherewith Xerxes invaded Greece; yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed, by those who, in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them: and hereby a signal instance was given, that, whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day; and yet it is commonly said by the Greek writers, that they had an account of the victory of Platæa at Mycale before they began the battle there, though the whole Ægean sea, which was several days sailing, lay between. But Diodorus Siculus clears this matter: for [i] he tells us, that Leotychides, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the Greeks at Platæa, lest they should be overpowered and vanquished by the numerous army of Mardonius, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battle, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out throughout all the army, that the Persians were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned happening to be true, and also done the same day, this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come in so short a time from so far distant a place by any human means; and there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said [k] of the victory of Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonians being known at Rome on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than Platæa was from Mycale, no doubt, was from the same cause. That happened to be true which was only feigned when first reported; and afterwards, when it was found to be true, and done on the same day on which the Romans first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

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[h] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Herodot. lib. 9. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14.
[i] Lib. 11.
[k] Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius, lib. 41.

Xerxes, on his having received these two great defeats at Platæa and Mycale, [l] left Sardis almost with the same precipitation as he did Athens after the battle of Salamis, making all the haste he could towards Persia, that thereby he might get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However, he omitted not, before he left those parts, to give [m] order for the burning and demolishing of all the temples in the Grecian cities in Asia; which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of Diana at Ephesus, which alone escaped this general devastation. And this he did, not out of any particular displeasure to the Asiatic Greeks; for he did the same wherever else he came, destroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the Magian religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous proselyte to it by Zoroastres: for that sect expressing a [n] great detestation against worshipping of God by images, were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And, to keep Xerxes firm to their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the Magians, but also [o] Ostanes himself, who [p] was then the Archimagus, or great patriarch of the whole sect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition: and by their instigation, [q] Tully tells us, it was, that all these temples were destroyed. This Ostanes is said to have been [r] grandfather to Zoroastres; but it is most likely that he was his grandson and that it was by mistake that it hath been said otherwise; for Zoroastres, it is certain, was [s] a very old man at his death. The name of Ostanes was very famous among the Greeks; for [t] from him, they say, they first had the Magian philosophy; he having communicated it unto them, while he followed Xerxes in this war; and therefore from him they

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[l] Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

[m] Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Esaiæ, c. 37. Æschylus in Persis. Herodot. lib. 8.

[n] Clemens Alexand. in protreptico, Laertius in procemio. Pocockii specimen Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149.

[o] Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2.

[p] Laertius in procemio. Suidas in voce Μάγοι.

[q] De Legibus, lib. 2.

[r] Religio vet. Pers. c. 24.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2.

sometimes call the whole sect [u] Ostaneans, instead of Magians, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

One of the temples, which by Xerxes' order were thus destroyed, was [x] that of Apollo Didumæan, near Miletus, from whence he took an immense treasure. This was discovered to the Persians by the Branchidæ, a family of the Milesians, that had the keeping of the temple; who thereon finding themselves, by reason of this treachery and sacrilege, to be become very odious to their countrymen, durst not, on Xerxes' going away, stay behind, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into Persia, and were there planted by him in a small territory, which he gave them, on the river Oxus, in the province of Bactria, where Alexander, on his making himself master of that country, finding their posterity still remaining, [y] caused them all to be put to the sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging, on the innocent descendants, the crime committed by their ancestors many ages before.

Xerxes, on his return towards Susa, passing through Babylon, [z] made there the same devastation of their temples, as he had in Greece, and the Lesser Asia, and, as it may be supposed, on the same principle, that is, his zeal for the Magian religion, and his aversion to that of the Sabians, who worshipped God by images, [a] of which the Magians had the utmost detestation: for the Babylonians were all Sabians, and indeed were the first founders of the sect; for they first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterwards that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations where it obtained; as hath been already shewn. And for this reason, the Magians, having them in abhorrence, above all other Sabians, prevailed with Xerxes, out of an especial hatred to them, to take Babylon in his way to Susa, of purpose to destroy all the temples they had there; although perchance to recruit himself with the spoils of these temples, after the vast expences which he had been at in his Grecian war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this resolution; for the wealth of their temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money the

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[u] Suidas in Ὀστάνας. [x] Strabo, lib. 14.

[y] Strabo, lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius, lib. 7. c. 5.

[z] Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7. Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

[a] Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148, 149.

treasures of the temple of Belus only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by Diodorus Siculus; and if those which he found in the other idol temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the Grecian war. And without some such recruit, it is scarce possible to imagine, how he could have supported himself at home, after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that, after his return, he was supported through all his empire, in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster; whereas it usually happens, that princes are ruined at home, as well as abroad, by such misfortunes.

By the pillaging and destroying of all these heathen temples at Babylon, was fully completed what the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied hereof many years before: [b] "All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground." [c] "I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed." [d] "And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon." [e] "Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces." For when Xerxes destroyed all these temples in Babylon, he took from them all their treasures, which they had been for many ages a-swallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses for which he had occasion of them.

After the battle of Mycale, [f] the Grecian fleet sailed to the Hellespont, to seize the bridges which Xerxes had laid over those straits, supposing that they had been still whole. But, on their coming hither, finding that they had been broken by storms, Leotychides, with the Peloponnesians, sailed home; but Xantippus, with the Athenians and allies of Ionia, still staying there, made themselves masters of Sestus, and the Thracian Chersonesus; where they took much spoil, and a great number of prisoners, and then, on the approach of winter, returned to their respective cities. Xantippus finding all the materials of Xerxes' bridge at Cardia, where the Persians had caused them to be brought before his arrival in

[b] Isaiah xxi. 9.
[c] Jer. li. 44.
[d] Jer. li. 47, 52.
[e] Jer. l. 2.
[f] Herodot. lib. 9.

those parts, he carried them with him to Athens, and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the Ionian cities in Asia revolted from the Persians, and, entering into a confederacy with the Grecians, by their help, maintained their liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

The Greeks, having settled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in them by the late invasion of the Persians, [g] resolved farther to prosecute the war against them, for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the Grecian original. For which purpose, they equipped a strong fleet, of which Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, and Aristides the Athenian, having the command, they sailed with it to Cyprus; and there having freed a great many Grecian cities from their Persian garrisons, restored them again to their own liberty.

An. 477. Xerxes 9.

About this time, Xerxes at Susa [h] was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the house of Masistes his brother, which had its rise from an incestuous love first begun at Sardis: for Xerxes, after his return thither from his flight out of Greece, fell in love with Masistes' wife, who was then in that city; but she being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But Xerxes, thinking to win her, at last heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly he married a daughter which she had, named Artaynta, to Darius his eldest son, whom he intended for his successor in the throne, and, on his return to Susa, caused the marriage to be consummated: which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with Artaynta; where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a-doing, Hamestris, Xerxes' queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king; who being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next

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[g] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

[h] Herodot. lib. 9.

visit to his mistress, and, on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the satisfaction he had therein, he bade her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be, he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the mantle which he had then on him. Xerxes, being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise, and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she, out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it, put it on, and, as by way of trophy, wore it publicly; whereby Hamestris, being thoroughly confirmed in what she was before only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree; but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the king's birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the king to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of Masistes to be given unto her. The king perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which Hamestris was exasperated against her; and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gainsayed, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the king's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breasts, her tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim, Xerxes, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for Masistes, and told him, that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that, instead of her, he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But Masistes, having an entire affection for his wife, could not be induced to consent hereto: whereon Xerxes told him, in an angry manner, that, since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife either; and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon Masistes, suspecting some mis-

chief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood; where finding his wife in that mangled condition as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependents, and made all the haste he could towards Bactria, the province of which he was governor; purposing, as soon as he should arrive thither, to raise an army, and make war upon the king, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But Xerxes, hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from thence what he intended, sent a party of horse after him, who, overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This Masistes was brother of Xerxes by Atossa the same mother, as well as by the same father, and was a person of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the king; and he had done him great services in his Grecian war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition; and he was personally engaged for him in the battle of Mycale, and was in truth the chief honour of his house, and never gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However, all this could not protect him from Xerxes' cruelty; which sufficiently shews, that, where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

And there is [i] another fact related of Hamestris, equally cruel and impious; that is, that she caused fourteen boys of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. And, in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above mentioned, I have been the more particular, because [k] several having been of opinion, by reason of the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther, that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris the Esther, mentioned in scripture, it may from hence appear, how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character, as Hamestris was, could have ever been that queen of Persia, who, by the name of Esther, is so renowned in holy writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by whom God was pleased, in so signal a manner, to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.

After the death of Masistes, Xerxes appointed [l] Hystaspes,

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[i] Herodot. lib. 7. [l] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
[k] Scaliger and his followers.

his second son, to be governor of Bactria in his stead; which obliging him to be absent from court, gave Artaxerxes, his younger brother, the opportunity of mounting the throne before him, on the death of Xerxes, as will be hereafter related.

The Grecian fleet, having effected at Cyprus what they went thither for, [m] sailed from thence to the Hellespont, and took in Byzantium; where several Persians of eminent note, and some of them of the kindred of Xerxes, being taken prisoners, Pausanias treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entered into a treaty with Xerxes to betray Greece unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by Xerxes, Pausanias thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the Persians, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically towards the allies: whereon, they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the Athenians, who thenceforth, by this means, obtained the chief command at sea in all the Grecian affairs, and held it for many years after. The Lacedæmonians, having received an account of these miscarriages of Pausanias, deposed him from his command on the Hellespont, and recalling him home, put him under public censure for them. An. 476. Xerxes 10.

However, [n] the next year he went again to the Hellespont, although without the consent of the state, or any commission from them, sailing thither in a private ship; which he hired on pretence of fighting against the Persians as a volunteer in that war, but in reality to carry on his treasonable designs with them, Artabazus being appointed governor on the Propontis of purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at Byzantium, his behaviour was such, that the Athenians drove him thence; whereon he went to the country of Troas, and there tarried some time the better to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus; of which there being some suspicions, the Lace- An. 475. Xerxes 11.

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[m] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

[n] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pausania.

dæmonians summoned him home by a public officer, and, on his return, put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his trial, he was again discharged. But some time after the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one whom he had made use of to carry on the correspondence, they put him to death for it.

Themistocles, [o] by his wisdom and great application, having much advanced the power and interest of the Athenians, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the Lacedæmonians: for they, seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto borne the chief sway among the Greeks, now rivalled and diminished by the growing up of this flourishing state, could not with patience bear it; and therefore, to gratify their revenge, resolved on the ruin of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto, they caused him first to be accused at Athens of being a confederate with Pausanias in his treason against Greece; but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

An. 472. Xerxes 14.

But [p] the next year after, Themistocles being banished Athens, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by ostracism: which was [q] a way among them, whereby, for the better securing of their liberty, they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the city for a certain term of years. Themistocles being thus necessitated for a time to leave his country, settled at Argos; of which the Lacedæmonians taking the advantage, prosecuted anew their charge against him before the general council of all Greece, then met at Sparta, and summoned him to appear before them to answer to it, accusing him there of treason against the whole community of Greece. Themistocles seeing how bitterly the Lacedæmonians were set against him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleased in that assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to Corcyra, and from thence to Admetus king of the Molossians, by whose assistance being conveyed to the coasts of the Ægean sea, he took shipping at Pydna in

An. 471. Xerxes 15.

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[o] Herodotus, lib. 7, &c. Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

[p] Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

[q] Plutarchus in Aristide.

Macedonia, and from thence passed over to Cyma, a city of Æoli in the Lesser Asia. But Xerxes having put a price of 200 talents upon his head, (which amounted to 37,500 pounds of our money,) several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger, he was forced there to lie hid for some time; till at length, by the contrivance and assistance of his friend and host Nicogenes, the richest man of that country, he was conveyed safe to Susa, in one of those close chariots, in which the Persians used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him giving out, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to the court for one of the nobility; by which means he got to the Persian court without any danger: where being arrived, he addressed himself to Artabenus, the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the king that had any business with him: by him he was introduced into Xerxes' presence; and being there asked who he was? He told him he was Themistocles the Athenian; that, though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the Greeks from pursuing him after the battle of Salamis, and obstructing his retreat over the Hellespont; that, for these his services to him being driven out of his country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what with the rest of his countrymen he had in the wars acted against it. Xerxes then said nothing to him; though, as soon as he was withdrawn, he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning having assembled the chief of the Persian nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness; telling him in the first place, that he owed him 200 talents: for he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him who had brought him his head, by thus rendering himself unto him; and accordingly commanded it to be paid him: and then ordered him to say what he had concerning the affairs of Greece to impart unto him. But Themistocles being then no otherwise able to deliver himself, than by an interpreter, begged leave, that he might be permitted first to learn the Persian language; hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the king what he had to impart to him in a much more perfect manner, than

he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another: which being granted to him, and, having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called into the king; to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when Mandana his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battle of Salamis, had prosecuted an accusation against Themistocles for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her according to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him; for he gave him a wife of a Noble Persian family, with an house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and, on all occasions, much caressed him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that, by his especial command, he was [r] admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magians, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length, it being thought best for the king's interest, that he should reside in some of the maritime towns near Greece, that he might be there ready at hand for such services as the king might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at Magnesia, on the river Meander; where he had not only all the revenues of that city (which were 50 talents a-year,) but also those of Myus and Lampsacus allowed him for his maintenance, amounting altogether to 150 talents a-year, which was little less than 30,000 pounds of our money. And here he lived all the time of Xerxes, and several years after, in the reign of Artaxerxes his son, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might, on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

But, according to [s] Thucydides, Xerxes was dead, and Artaxerxes had newly succeeded in the throne, when Themistocles fled out of Greece to the Persian court; and therefore he tells us that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and not Xerxes, by whom Themistocles was received with so much favour; and Thucidides being an historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the death of Artaxerxes, [t] the

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[r] Plutarchus in Themistocle. [s] Lib. 1.

[t] In Annal. vet. Testamenti sub anno Julianæ Periodi, 4241.

Lord Primate Usher, moved by so great an authority, follows him in this matter, and, to make it accord with the other transactions of those times, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes, and adds them [u] to the following reigns, making Xerxes to end his reign nine years sooner, and Artaxerxes to begin his reign nine years sooner, than any other author says. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypothesis of the computation of the 70 weeks of Daniel's prophecy; and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of Thucydides before all others in this particular. For if we put the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (from whence he reckons the beginning of these 70 weeks,) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when Christ was crucified. And therefore, were the authority of Thucydides sufficient to justify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But [x] the canon of Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Africanus, Eusebius, and all others that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable, that Thucydides was out in this particular; for although he be a very exact historian in the affairs of Greece, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of Persia, which he treats of only by the by.

In the interim, the Athenians, having set out a fleet under the command of Cimon, [y] the son of Miltiades, conquered Eione, on the river Strymon, and other parts of Thrace, and then took in the islands of Scyrus and Nauxus, which had revolted from them; and, [z] while they were assaulting the last of these, Themistocles passed by them, in his flight into Asia, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

The next year after, [a] Cimon, sailing from Athens with a fleet of 200 sail, passed over to the coasts of Asia; where, having augmented it with 100 sail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts An. 470. Xerxes 16.

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[u] *i. e.* To the reigns of Artaxerxes and his son Xerxes, whom the primate makes to reign one year after him.

[x] For these authors say, that Xerxes reigned 21 years, and Artaxerxes 41. But according to the primate, Xerxes reigned but 12 years, and Artaxerxes 50.

[y] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.

[z] Plutarchus in Themistocle.

[a] Diodorus et Plutarchus, ibid. Thucydides, lib. 1.

of Caria and Lycia, driving the Persians out of all the cities they were possessed of in those parts; and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coasts of Pamphylia, and were also drawing down thither as great an army by land for some expedition, he hastened thither with 250 of his best ships in quest of them; and finding their fleet, consisting of 350 sail, at anchor in the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and their land army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their fleet; which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to fly but up the river, were all taken, every ship of them, and 20,000 men in them, the rest having either escaped to land, or been slain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore, and fell on the land army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of Salamis, and the other to that of Platæa. And having gotten information, that there were eighty more Phœnician ships coming to join the Persian fleet, he surprised them in the harbour, before they had any notice of the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them; and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success, Cimon returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned Athens with the spoils got in this expedition.

The next year [b] Cimon sailed to the Hellespont; and falling on the Persians, who had taken possession of the Thracian Chersonesus, drove them out thence, and subjected their country again to the Athenians; though in truth (it having been the [c] principality of his father Miltiates) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the Thasians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of Thrace, he seized all the gold mines on those coasts, and brought under him all that country as far as Macedon, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity: for [d] the omitting of which, he was afterwards, on his return, brought to trial for his life before the Athenians, as if he had been corrupted by the Macedonians to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

An. 469. Xerxes 17.

Xerxes, being at last daunted and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over

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[b] Plutarchus in Cimone.

[c] Herodotus, lib. 6.

[d] Plutarchus in Cimone.

all thoughts of any longer carrying on the Grecian war; and therefore, from this time, [e] no more of his ships were seen in the Ægean sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

After this, Xerxes giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts; whereby growing into contempt with the people, [f] Artabanus, the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn Mithridates, one of his eunuchs that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bed-chamber, and there slew him, while he slept in his bed; and then, going to Artaxerxes, his third son, acquainted him of the murder, and accused Darius, his elder brother, to be the author of it, telling him, that it was done to make his way to the throne; that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it; and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which Artaxerxes, as being then a very young man, rashly believing, without any farther examination, to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner as Artabanus intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the assistance of Artabanus and his guards, slew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his father, and for the securing of his own safety, being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the traitor, who excited him hereto. The next heir was Hystaspes, the second son of Xerxes; but he being absent in Bactria, of which province he was governor, Artabanus took Artaxerxes, as being next at hand, and put him on the throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer than till he had formed a party strong enough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great authority, had many creatures, and he had also seven sons, all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire; and his confidence in these was that which put his ambition on this design: but while he was hastening it to a conclusion, Artaxerxes, having got a full discovery of the whole plot, by the means of Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, was beforehand with him in a counterplot, and cut him off before his treason was fully ripened for execution;

An. 456. Xerxes 21.

[e] Plutarchus in Cimone.

[f] Ctesias. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. Justin. lib. 3. c. 1.

whereby having secured himself in thorough possession of the kingdom, he held it forty-one years.

He is said to have been [g] the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince [h] of a very mild and generous disposition; he is called by the Greek historians Μακρὲ χεὶς, or Longimanus (*i. e.* the long-handed) [i] by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were so long, that, on his standing upright, he could touch his knees with them. But in scripture he hath the name of Ahasuerus, as well as that of Artaxerxes, and was the same who had Esther for his queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men, whose opinion differ from me herein, Archbishop Usher, and Joseph Scaliger.

The former [k] holdeth that it was Darius Hystaspes that was the king Ahasuerus who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Artystona the Esther of the holy scriptures. But all that is said of those persons by the historians who have written of them is wholly inconsistent herewith: for Herodotus positively tells us, that Artystona [l] was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther; and that [m] Atossa had four sons by Darius, besides daughters, all born to him by her after he was king; and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti, who was divorced from the king her husband [n] in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her. Furthermore, Atossa is said to have had that predominant interest with Darius even to the time of his death, that it was by her means that, in the last act of his life, [o] he was influenced to settle the succession of his crown on Xerxes her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former wife; whereas the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther had removed Vashti both from his bed and from his presence by [p] an unalterable decree: and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbishop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is said of Ahasuerus [q] in the book of Esther, that he laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles, [r] the same is also said of Darius Hystaspes

[g] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.
[h] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe Mnemone.
[i] Plutarch. et Strabo, ib.
[k] In Annalibus veteris Testamenti, sub anno J. P. 4193.
[l] Herodot. lib. 3. et lib. 7.
[m] Herodot. lib. 7. sub initio.
[n] Esther i. 3.
[o] Herodot. lib. 7.
[p] Esther i. 19.
[q] Chap. x. 1.
[r] Herodot. lib. 3.

by Herodotus; and therefore he thought, that they were both the same person. But Strabo, who is an author of as good, if not better credit, attributeth this to [s] Longimanus. It must be acknowledged, that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read Darius Longimanus in the place which I refer to. But the title Longimanus, and the description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none but to the Artaxerxes whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there Darius is put instead of Artaxerxes, by the corruption of the text.

Scaliger's opinion is, [t] that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris, his queen, the Esther of the holy scriptures. His main reason for it is, the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther. But how much more the dissimilitude of their characters proves the contrary, hath been already shewn; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with Inarus and the Greeks taken with him in Egypt, and her frequent adulteries, will be a farther confirmation of it. Furthermore it appears from [u] Herodotus, that Xerxes had a son by Hamestris that was marriageable in the 7th year of his reign; and therefore it is impossible she should be Esther; for Esther was not married to Ahasuerus [x] till the 7th year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For, according to the sacred history, [y] it was the 4th year of Ahasuerus, when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a [z] whole year being employed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the 5th year of his reign; and therefore the 6th was the soonest that she could have a son by him. Besides Artaxerxes, the third son of Hamestris, [a] being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his father, (which happened in the 21st year of his reign) he must have been born before the 6th year of his reign. All which put together, do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names Esther and Hamestris may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

But there being no such objections as to Artaxerxes Longimanus, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences that can be had of this matter, are from the Greek version of the sacred text, called the Sep-

[s] Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.
[t] De Emendatione, lib. 6.
[u] Lib. 7.
[x] Esther ii. 16.
[y] Esther ii.
[z] Esther ii. 12.
[a] Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

tuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther, and Josephus; and all these agree for Artaxerxes Longimanus. For Josephus [b] positively tells us it was he; and the Septuagint, through the whole book of Esther, wherever the Hebrew text hath Ahasuerus, translate Artaxerxes; and the apocryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of Esther, Artaxerxes, who could be none other than Artaxerxes Longimanus; for there are several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal Esther, which can by no means be applicable to the other Artaxerxes, called Mnemon. And Severus Sulpitius, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary [c] favour and kindness which Artaxerxes Longimanus shewed the Jews beyond all the other kings that reigned in Persia, first in sending Ezra, and after, Nehemiah, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in Judah and Jerusalem, and the restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful advocate as Esther to solicit for them. But these, and the other transactions of this king, will be the subject of the next ensuing book.

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[b] Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

[c] There were two other kings of Persia, that shewed kindness to the Jews, Cyrus, and Darius Hystaspes. Each of them granted a decree in favour of the Jews: but Artaxerxes went beyond them both; for he granted two decrees, by virtue of which both the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews were thoroughly restored: and therefore, where the scripture names those kings of Persia by whose favour this restoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned; for it is said (Ezra vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes, *i. e.* Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, Darius Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus. For of these, and none other, is that text undoubtedly to be understood; and, no doubt, when the church and state were restored, much was done for the restoration of the temple also.

THE END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015